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THE

HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

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THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

VOLUME XX

ISLAND POSSESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

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GENERAL INDEX

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE insular possessions of the United States, acquired within recent years, bring diverse peoples under the care and protection of the American people, raise new problems in government, at least for the United States, and place America in new relations with the other powers of the world. It is yet too soon to play the prophet with respect to these new possessions, but as prophecy ultimately accords with history, the future of these possessions may best be read in their history before their acquisition by the United States and in the trend of affairs since they became American soil. The larger part of the present volume is a history of these possessions as foreign soil,—of independent governments, as in Hawaii; of dependencies, in Porto Rico and the Philippines. The social, industrial and political problems which these new possessions raise must be approached historically; having acquired these possessions, America, in attempting to introduce the principles of republican institutions among them cannot safely break with the past; customs long established, traditions fixed long before historic times, perhaps, cannot wisely be ignored. The relations long existing between the native peoples and the Spanish government must be thoroughly understood as part of that knowledge necessary for the pacific and prosperous government of the islands. In other words, the complex and highly systematized political institutions of the people of the United States cannot instantaneously be

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impressed upon the native inhabitants of these new possessions.

The history of these insular possessions is a new and a critical chapter in the history of the United States. Until the time of the sudden acquisition of these possessions, the civic problems of America were strictly continental: the United States was a compact area of states and territories, each accessible and within well-known historical boundaries. The Spanish-American war suddenly changed the boundaries of the United States and by the very fact of territorial changes transformed America into a world-power with new responsibilities. It would be a mistake to think that the United States until the Spanish-American war was not a world-power. That war defined anew the national responsibilities: the extension of the national domain being no more than objective proof of the extension of responsibilities. The present volume narrates the causes of that war and traces them in long line into the past so that the astonishing and apparently sudden changes of international relations and policies are now seen to be less astonishing, when the history of the Philippines, of Porto Rico, of Hawaii and of Cuba is understood.

The practical annihilation of distance, by modern inventions, simplifies the problem of government for geographically distant possessions. The Philippines are more easily administrable, in the matter of distance from Washington, to-day, than was the Oregon country sixty years ago, or Alaska, until within twenty years. Civilization ignores distance; the Philippine Islands once in industrial and economic accord with the people of the United States, their people will be, for all purposes of just government, no further from Washington than are the inhabitants of any state now within the Union. The problem is not one of mere distance on the map: it is one of civilization.

Because the problem is one of civilization, the present volume becomes a contribution to its solution. Prior to any practical experience in dealing with peoples of diverse races,

who by the course of events are within the government and care of the United States, common prudence teaches the necessity of first understanding the history of these peoples,—their traditions, customs and traits,—and then of adapting theories of government to the great facts which face any outside power that would extend its domain over them. The American people, taking their traditions from colonial or revolutionary times in America have nothing in common with the native races of the new insular possessions. The history of these native races intensifies the difference, the irrelativity between the two inheritances; whence it follows that the serious problem, as in the Philippines, is to engraft ideas, to merge sentiments, to harmonize discordant notions of life, and to build a strong civil structure on a heterogeneous foundation. To state the problem is not to solve it. Race is the key to history, and theories of government held by highly cultured peoples must yield and modify themselves to the instincts, the habits, the mentality of less cultured peoples, if these are to be bound to the more cultured by enduring ties. It must be adaptation or extermination: as the history of the American Indian has proved. Whence it follows that among a people of the culture, or want of culture, of the various races found in the Philippine Islands, American institutions must assume a modified form, varying notably, here and there, from their originals in the United States.

The present volume recites the history and the present condition of the inhabitants of the insular possessions of the United States and equips the reader with knowledge on which to base some conclusions as to the wisest course to pursue in dealing with these possessions. The peculiar character of the problem may, perhaps, best be hinted at by a comparison. Iowa, Kansas, Montana, and other western states were once territories and, as territories, were subject to the immediate control of Congress. During the period of slavery in the United States, congressional control of a territory, as of Kansas, became a party question: a question of the extension or of the exclusion of slavery. Not many

years before the creation of the territory of Kansas the area thus set apart under special congressional control was a wilderness, here and there over-run by Indian tribes. Immigration speedily eliminated the Indian element from the problem, and the development of the territory fell wholly into the hands of a superior race. In other words, the rise and growth of new states and territories in the United States are the rise and growth of successive communities of a homogeneous people, essentially working out a common motive and a common organization: the racial problem at no time has delayed or differentiated their development. The West is only a larger East.

The insular possessions of the United States became part of the national domain as already organized communities,—some of them much older than any state organized since the original thirteen. And the peoples inhabiting these insular possessions have been inducted into notions of government by a nation of Europe whose political institutions are antithetic to those of the United States. Extremes have followed each other: American republican institutions succeeding to Spanish monarchical and autocratic institutions, the latter also the more complex because of the intermixture and domination of ecclesiastical institutions. The problem, therefore, as it now presents itself in Porto Rico and the Philippines, and perhaps ultimately in Cuba, has no analogue in the American commonwealth or territory; it is such a problem as the British Government, or the German Government or the French Government faces in its colonial possessions.

Thus for the first time American representative institutions are compelled to contribute to the solution of the problems of colonial government. Can a republic such as the United States, successfully administer a colonial policy? Are democratic institutions adaptable to races of the status of the inhabitants of the Philippines? Or of Porto Rico, or of Hawaii, or, prospectively, of Cuba? Has the time come, fixed by the Spanish-American war, when republican institutions are to be tested? Has society, marching, as Cavour

said a generation ago, "with long strides toward democracy" entered upon the demonstration that democracy is "the inevitable future of humanity?"

It is this large, fateful question which gives significance to the acquisition of insular possessions by the United States. The mere extension of national power over an island or an archipelago has been repeatedly effected in every age: but never before, in the world's history has so powerful a democracy existed as the people of the United States, or has a powerful democracy acquired extensive possessions as far from its seat as the further side of the globe. It is not the distance or the mere acquisition that gives significance to the act: it is the extension, the adoption, the utilization of the principles of democracy by and among a hitherto undemocratic people that imparts to the act an epoch-making character.

It is not impossible then that the people of the United States may find the fate of republican institutions in the future of their insular possessions. The principles of government by and among a great nation should be the principles of a universal legislation.

The learned author of the present volume has written an exact, a critical, an impartial account based upon the primary sources of knowledge, and carefully apportioned to the relative importance of the parts of his theme. His volume is the one volume of the *History of North America* in which the theme carries him far from the continent to the confines of Asia and Australia and to the islands of distant seas. The very title of his work intimates the power and place to which the New World has come. His volume brings the series to which it belongs to a close. In order of time it is a far cry from "Prehistoric America" to "Insular Possessions." The discovery of the New World has proved the exploitation of the Old World. He who reads, reflectively, the successive volumes of the series now brought to an end must conclude that the history of North America is after all only a chapter in the history of civilization. The discovery of America has proved to be no more than the discovery of the opportunity

to make the whole world a more comfortable home for the human race.

The elaborate index to the entire series is the work of Mr. J. A. Burgan, who has also given to each volume the invaluable aid of his learning and of his technical knowledge of the art of book-making.

FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE war of 1898 with Spain brought into American political and economic life a group of problems entirely dissimilar to those which had arisen in our history before that date. Distant and non-contiguous territories, inhabited by uncivilized and subject peoples were thrust at our doors, or in the ardor of the time were seized and annexed for altruistic or selfish reasons. Later, in the calmer moments of peace, American administrators and legislators were compelled to face and solve the new problems which the insular possessions had brought with them into the American commonwealth. At first unconsciously and under military authority the relations of the nation to its wards were determined; then came conscious constructive work by the military and executive officers; this in turn was followed by remarkably strong organic acts passed by Congress for the government of the islands; and finally came the process, which still continues, of so adapting and amending the organic acts that they may bring happiness and contentment to the insular races.

The aim of the present work, as the chapter headings show, has been twofold: first, to present a brief history of each of the island possessions down to the time of its annexation to the United States; and secondly, to describe how each came to be annexed to the United States and the manner in which it has been treated since its union with our country. In the chapters dealing with the prior history

of the islands, the attempt has been made to avoid a mere chronological narrative, and instead so to present the salient political, economic, and social facts that they would prepare the reader for a clear comprehension of the difficulties which faced the American administrators. In the second group of chapters also no effort is made to recount in detail all the legislative and administrative measures adopted by the American authorities; but, on the other hand, the aim has been to select those features of American policy which are characteristic of the national purposes and ideals in its new task of colonial government.

In the preparation of the chapters upon the early history of the islands use has been made, wherever possible, of the writings of the original settlers or of their immediate successors. The accounts of the voyages of Columbus, Magellan, Cook, and Vancouver; the narratives of Turner and Ellis; and the more recent works of Fornander and Foreman have been consulted. The author's indebtedness to Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands,* to Prof. W. F. Blackman's *The Making of Hawaii,* and to R. A. Van Middeldyk's *The History of Puerto Rico,* is cheerfully acknowledged. The details of the struggle for annexation in Cuba, in Hawaii and in Samoa have been studied in the annual reports upon foreign relations, and in the convenient collection of material in the compilation of the *Reports of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations* published at Washington in 1901. The history of American occupation has been drawn largely from the annual or special reports of military and civil governors, of investigating committees and commissions, or the records of congressional debate and action. A most useful aid in this work has been the recent volume by W. F. Willoughby, entitled *Territories and Dependencies of the United States.* The statements of official reports have been checked by reference to such works as L. S. Rowe's *The United States and Porto Rico,* A. G. Robinson's *Cuba and the Intervention,* and H. P. Willis's *Our Philippine Problem.*

Within the compass of this volume it has been possible to present but a brief sketch of the centuries of history in the islands, and to touch in a cursory manner only upon the problems which the recent acquisitions have brought to us. But it is hoped that even this general treatment of the subject may lead to a deeper interest and closer study of the island possessions and their future relations to the United States.

ALBERT E. MCKINLEY.

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CHAPTER I

CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1895-1898

PREVIOUS to the opening of the nineteenth century the history of Cuba was narrow and marked by few events of importance. Discovered by Columbus on October 28, 1492, the conquest and settlement of the island was begun in 1511 under the direction of Diego, the son of Christopher Columbus. The native population was soon killed off in the revolts against Spanish rule, or by the severe compulsory labor in mines or on plantations; and by 1517 negro slaves had been introduced. The latter soon came to be the principal laboring class, and between 1521 and 1790, it is estimated that ninety thousand negroes were imported.

For three hundred years Spanish mediæval practices fettered the life and industries of the island. The marvellous productivity of the soil and the richness of natural products were kept sealed from those who sought to exploit them. For two hundred and twenty years all the trade of the Spanish colonies was conducted through the Spanish port of Seville. In 1717 this was changed to Cadiz, which town enjoyed the monopoly for sixty years. Upon the island all importations and exportations must be made through one port, at first Santiago, and after 1552, Havana. As late as 1784 foreign vessels, even when disabled or seeking shelter, were absolutely prohibited from entering any port in the island.

Internal conditions were subject to similar restrictions. Some of these were, a heavy stamp tax laid as early as 1638;

the prohibition of trade between the Spanish colonies; the excessive taxes laid upon immigrants which retarded the growth of the laboring population; the various forms of arbitrary taxes consuming probably more than one-fourth of the yearly produce of the island; the Inquisition, which was often used for political as well as religious purposes; and the great number of Spanish officials, obtaining their positions by political influence at home, and retaining them solely for personal pecuniary gain. The exacting nature of these economic, political and religious restrictions produced a depressing effect upon the island's industries. They discouraged individual incentive to such a degree that even rebellion or revolution scarcely appeared during three hundred years.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century saw a considerable alleviation of these burdens. Already, in 1762, the British occupation of Havana had given a temporary impetus to the sluggish trade of that port, and in 1778 some of the commercial restrictions were removed. In 1801 friendly and neutral nations were permitted to trade with Cuban ports, although their ships were later placed under heavy disadvantages as compared with Spanish vessels. These new regulations enormously stimulated the trade of Havana, and we are told that while in 1804, only about a dozen Spanish vessels entered the harbor, in 1806 a thousand vessels passed Morro Castle. Before this date many Frenchmen fleeing from the negro uprising in San Domingo, settled in the island, and their encouragement and knowledge soon led to a great increase in the cultivation of sugar. Loyal Spaniards from the Central and South American colonies also came to Cuba during the time of the political revolutions in these colonies.

Politically also, the condition of the island was improved. The Spanish constitutions of 1812 and 1820 were extended to Cuba; and although the latter was revoked in 1823, and two years later almost despotic authority was given the governor, yet the island prospered greatly down to 1824, and

Cathedral of St. Christopher, Havana.

was fairly prosperous as late as 1837. During a portion of this time Cuba was represented in the Spanish Cortes, and in the years 1834 to 1838 it enjoyed the great advantage of being governed by a disinterested and enlightened governor, named Miguel Tacón. The influence of these improved economic and political conditions, together with the power of the wealthy planters and the conservative fugitives from San Domingo and the continental colonies, kept alive the loyalty of the dominant classes, and led to the application to the island of the title "Cuba la sempre Fiel"—Cuba the ever faithful.

Some one has said, "It is not so bad to be poor, as to be poorer." Undoubtedly it was the withdrawal of part of the earlier commercial and political privileges, the declining prosperity, and the irritation of the heavy taxes, coupled with higher ideals, wider education and a growing consciousness of nationality which made the history of Cuba from 1840 onward such a tumultuous one. The arrogance of the Spanish official class, and the great expense which their maintenance entailed, were separating the native Cubans from the resident Spaniards. Scarcely a year passed in which a large or a small body of insurgents was not in arms against the authorities.

In the meantime American statesmen had been viewing Cuban affairs with deep interest.

As early as 1809 Jefferson had considered the advisability of acquiring Cuba, and fourteen years later in a letter to President Monroe, he confessed that he looked upon Cuba as the most interesting addition which could be made to the territory of the United States. In the same year, 1823, John Quincy Adams expressed the opinion that before half a century had passed, the annexation of Cuba would be indispensable to the continuance and the integrity of the Union.

The movement toward annexation thus endorsed so heartily by the early fathers, has not yet reached its goal, and it is now questionable whether it will ever be attained.

One of the principal reasons for its failure has been the great and unexpected development of the country toward the West, which gave rise to a whole group of political and social questions apart from the extension of shipping and commerce into the West Indies. Another reason lay in those party animosities aroused by the slavery question and centring about the exclusion of slavery from the new western lands. Further, the extension of new means of communication between the Atlantic coast and the Mississippi Valley through railroads and canals, detracted considerably from the importance of the coastwise trade of the Atlantic seaports with the Gulf cities. Finally it was generally believed that Spain's tenure of Cuba was not harmful to the United States; that the country need not fear, as Calhoun said, so long as Cuba passed into no other hands.

After the Mexican War and the Compromise of 1850, the eyes of our statesmen were again directed to the Gulf of Mexico and Central America. This time, however, it was the slave party, which, turning from its contest with anti-slavery in the North, now hoped to recoup itself for the loss of California by the acquisition of Cuba. Spain's rule in Cuba was now described as oppressive upon the inhabitants and expensive to herself; nature and God had placed Cuba in a position which made the island a necessity to the North American republic; and southern slaveholders were aroused by the prediction that Cuba would be controlled by her own negroes if not by the United States, and that the establishment of a second San Domingo was the only alternative to an American occupation. The new aggressive policy was shown in many ways. It appeared in official instructions to our ministers abroad; it showed tooth and nail in the Ostend Manifesto when, in 1854, the American ministers to England, France and Spain united to announce that if Spain would not sell Cuba to the United States, that country would be justified in seizing the island; it took military form in the southern encouragement of filibustering expeditions, and it received public expression in the platforms

of the Democratic party in 1856 and 1860, and in three of the four annual messages of President Buchanan.

With the defeat of the Democratic party in 1860, and the breaking out of the Civil War, the Cuban question sank into a state of insignificance, except so far as Cuba was used as a place of resort by Confederate blockade runners. It was, however, raised to a position of first-rate importance by the exertions of the Cubans themselves during their ten-year struggle for independence from 1868 to 1878. In the United States the annexation movement now gave place to a popular desire for the independence of Cuba from Spanish control. The decline of interest in annexation probably came from two sources: first, the death of the slavery party in the United States and of its plans for the extension of its institution; and secondly, an increased respect for the Cubans and for their ability in self-government as shown by their success in the ten years' war. To these reasons may be added that general democratic interest in the rights of man which was leading the Republican party into its radical measures for negro suffrage. General Grant deserves the credit, among American presidents, of first formulating this popular demand for Cuban independence. As early as 1869 he directed the United States minister in Spain to strive to obtain the recognition of the Cuban republic; and in 1875 he expressed the opinion that it was impossible to doubt the ultimate issue of Cuban affairs in independence. Grant did not, however, intervene in favor of the Cubans, nor did he recognize them as belligerents or as an independent state. The amicable agreement which General Campos perfected in Cuba in 1878 put off for another twenty years the consummation of the plans for independence.

These twenty years were not, however, years of great prosperity in Cuba. The value of sugar declined in competition with the beet sugar of Europe, and the price of tobacco was not maintained. But to these economic difficulties there were added many political reasons for discontent. The promises of 1878 were not fulfilled. In 1885 an

American consul expressed the opinion that the island was worse governed than at any previous period of its history. Bribery and corruption of the Spanish officials existed on a large scale; the legal taxes probably amounted to over one-fourth of the net income of many occupations, while illegal exactions added even heavier burdens. The Cuban debt, amounting to $283 per capita, was much larger proportionately than the indebtedness of any European state. The taxes raised were not used for the welfare of the island, but in maintaining the army and navy, paying interest on the Cuban debt, and salaries to Spanish officials, whose positions were often sinecures. Not one-thirtieth of the public income was spent upon internal improvements. Some popular elections were promised by General Campos in 1878, but the suffrage was so hedged about with poll-tax and freehold restrictions that in some places less than one per cent of the Cubans were qualified for the franchise, while eighty per cent of the Spaniards were so qualified. Brigandage existed in many places, and only the presence of a large Spanish army and a large number of mercenary volunteers in the employ of sugar-planters, prevented a continuance of open civil war. In general it may be said that the Spanish government did not err in failing to pass wise laws, but rather in neglecting or refusing to enforce the provisions of such legislation.

In 1894 measures of autonomy were proposed by Spain, but they were so linked with provisions for disarming the population, that, instead of quieting the island, they led directly to the last revolution. Many of the participants in the preceding revolt had been planning for a new uprising, and February 24, 1895, was fixed by the leaders as the day for the initiation of the movement. Among the more prominent in the new movement were Maximo Gomez, José Marti, Antonio and José Maceo, Calixto Garcia, Julio Sanguilly, Salvador Cisneros, and the members of the Cuban junta in New York, including Palma, Guerra, de Quesada, and Rubens. The uprising met with varying success until

it gained inspiration from the Cuban victory in July, 1895, in the battle of Bayamo. After this there were risings in many new places. The Cubans then planned the destruction of the productive industries of the island, as a means of weakening Spain. An order of the so-called treasury department of the Cuban Republic reads, "The making of the present sugar crop is absolutely prohibited to all the plantations in the territory of the Republic. The owners of these plantations who disobey this order will be treated as enemies and tried as such when caught; the cane fields will be burned and the machinery and buildings destroyed. The employees of the said plantations who shall directly or indirectly contribute to the crop will be equally considered as enemies." In following out this policy the veteran Gomez planned a raid into the western provinces of Havana and Pinal del Rio, by far the wealthiest part of the island. Here the great sugar and tobacco estates had been practically untouched by the rebellions. In the spring of 1896 Gomez broke through the famous Spanish "trocha" and advanced into these provinces, burning the cane fields and sugar mills, the tobacco plantations and private estates in the richest districts.

In the meantime an attempt was made to organize the government of the insurrectionists into a regular republic. Marti, who was recognized as the leader of the revolutionists, issued a call for a representative gathering. These representatives, it is interesting to note, were chosen to represent the several corps into which the Cuban army was divided. Meeting in September, 1895, they formulated a brief constitution which gave almost entire political powers to a governmental council, and then proceeded to the election of officers for the republic. Salvador Cisneros was chosen president; Maximo Gomez, commander-in-chief; Antonio Maceo, lieutenant-general; and Tomas Estrada Palma, diplomatic agent abroad. Thereafter, great pains were taken to preserve the external form of the Cuban political organization, for without such organization, the Cuban leaders

could not hope to obtain the recognition of their independence by the United States, the country in which, of course, the "diplomatic agent abroad" made his residence. Regular newspaper organs were established, a post-office system was essayed, and taxes were collected. It was admitted, however, that most of these taxes were remitted to New York by sugar-planters. The correspondence of the United States State Department includes proof submitted by Cubans of the existence within the Republic of a school system, a government printing office, a census, a regularly organized public treasury, a war department, and a compilation of the laws of the Republic.

While these plans of the Cubans for the destruction of property and for the organization of democracy were being put into execution, the Spanish government was making great endeavors to grapple with the rebels. Captain-general Calleja was displaced by General Martinez Campos, who, almost twenty years earlier, had made the famous treaty of Zanjon with the rebels of 1878. Campos, although heavily reinforced, failed to suppress the rebellion, and consequently was criticised as too lenient politically, and incompetent as a military leader. Accordingly General Valeriana Weyler was appointed to the command in Cuba less than ten months after Campos's arrival. Weyler had a reputation for military ability and executive directness, and it was hoped these qualities would lead to his early success in Cuba.

Arriving in Cuba in February, 1896, Weyler at once issued a series of proclamations announcing his civil and military policy. Of the former there was little to be said. Weyler stated that he was about to lay aside all political ideas and conduct his government with the one honorable mission to close the civil war; after this end had been gained and tranquillity restored, he would be no impediment to the establishment of reforms in Cuba by the "loving" mother country. Other proclamations outlined the military policy which was the dominant note in Weyler's plans. The inhabitants of the provinces of Puerto Principe and Santiago

were ordered to concentrate in places occupied by Spanish troops; all persons without military passes found by the Spanish armies outside these garrison towns were to be sent into one of the towns or to Havana; owners of commercial establishments were required to abandon them, and military commanders were authorized to destroy such property when deemed of value to the rebels. By virtue of his power as commander-in-chief, Weyler, in another proclamation, assumed judicial powers, and authorized his subordinates to try cases in a summary manner, particularly those concerning prisoners captured in action. Other regulations limited freedom of speech and the press, called upon all Spaniards to show their loyalty openly, and severely punished those convicted of communication with the enemy. Later, the concentration system was extended to other parts of the island, and both insurgents and Spanish authorities resorted to extreme measures to prevent the resumption of sugar and tobacco culture.

During the administration of Weyler the United States became interested to a far greater degree than previously in the Cuban situation. It will be well to notice briefly the causes of this interest. And first it must be remembered that large numbers of Cubans had come to the United States during the revolution of 1868-1878, or immediately afterwards, for political reasons; and that others later visited the United States for commercial reasons. Many of these Cubans conformed to the naturalization statutes, and became citizens of the United States. Sometimes they returned to Cuba, in other cases they remained in this country; but in either case almost uniformly they were interested in the overthrow of Spanish power in Cuba. The revolution of 1895 was planned by Marti and others within the limits of the United States; members of the Cuban revolutionary committee in New York used bold and extreme measures to arouse the American nation in their behalf; and the appreciation of the situation in Cuba by the American people is due largely to these Cubans resident in this country.

Americans were deeply interested in sugar and tobacco culture in Cuba, where millions of their capital were invested; and thousands of persons in America, together with some of the strongest American corporations, were engaged in the commerce growing out of these industries. All such interests were seriously affected, and threatened with annihilation by the insurgent policy of destruction of property, and the Spanish policy of concentration of the laboring population. Naturally they used their utmost endeavors to excite public opinion in America, and thereby compel the government to intervene to relieve the Cuban conditions.

Another influence, which the historian cannot ignore, was the power of the jingoists in Congress and in the newspapers. Many of the influential city newspapers marvellously exploited the Cuban situation. Their reporters faced real and imaginary dangers in Cuba to obtain the needed facts; they served in the Cuban army, they ignored Spanish authorities, they suffered in Havana prisons, and they attained the summit of newspaper martyrdom in expulsion from the island. With a plethora of ingenuity and daring, combining ninth and nineteenth century agencies, they contrived to rescue from a Havana prison under the eyes of Spanish authorities, the daughter of the ex-president of the Cuban state. Their portion of Cuban fact and falsehood was served daily to the American public with its breakfast. In a similar manner, certain persons in Congress took up the Cuban cause. Both houses in the spring of 1896 passed concurrent resolutions recognizing the belligerency of Cuba, and a year later the Senate re-affirmed its previous action. The principles of the politicians and newspapers at last entered into the thinking of the body of the American people.

The situation of American citizens resident in Cuba was one of the most perplexing of the questions growing out of the insurrection. The records of the State Department soon became burdened with their protests against injury and their claims for damages. They were arrested, and their estates pillaged during their confinement, while for days they were

Plaza and Cathedral at Cienfuegos.

prevented from communicating with their friends or families; their property was taken for military uses without compensation; their families and homes were broken up. Sugar-cane tops were wantonly cut for forage; persons riding into a garrison town would have their horses seized by the military authorities; one person actually lost ten thousand head of cattle and five hundred horses; thousands of acres of sugar-cane belonging to American citizens were burnt. In July, 1896, Weyler ordered all foreigners to register and take out certificates within a month, under penalty of the forfeiture of their rights as foreigners. Up to January, 1897, claims had been filed with the State Department amounting to nearly nine million dollars, which by April, 1898, had risen to sixteen millions. During the first two years of the rebellion, seventy-four American citizens had been imprisoned, of whom thirty-six had been released because the charges against them were baseless, and eighteen had been expelled from the island after an imprisonment lasting from a few days to almost a year. Much injury was also inflicted, not only in Cuba, but also in the United States, by Weyler's order of May 16, 1896, which forbade the exportation of tobacco from the two western provinces of the island, the principal tobacco growing districts. Only ten days were allowed for the shipment of tobacco previously contracted for. The rigor of this order was not appreciated until the following fall, when clearance was refused to the tobacco crop lately harvested and contracted for by American merchants long before the order of May. After repeated protests made to Spain, and as frequent delays or broken promises upon her part, Secretary Olney, on February 12, 1897, refused to negotiate further, and directed the United States representative at Madrid to inform the Spanish minister for foreign affairs "that his Government will be held responsible for the indemnification of citizens of the United States in every instance, whether heretofore specifically presented or not, in which tobacco owned by such citizens or contracted for by them prior to

the promulgation of the order of May 16, 1896, . . . has been detained under that order."

Under the agreements of international law and the domestic statutes of the United States, the government had many duties forced upon it by the state of civil war existing in Cuba. The Cubans were making American territory the base for their attacks upon Spanish authority, and a Cuban "junta" in New York collected funds, shipped supplies and ammunition to Cuba, and stirred up the American people. The United States, according to Secretary John Sherman, was bound under its treaties with Spain, and its own statutes, to prevent armed expeditions or armed persons or armed vessels from leaving its ports to assist the insurgents; so long as belligerency was not recognized, however, it could not lawfully forbid the exportation of munitions of war when commercially consigned to private individuals, nor could it detain unarmed persons about to leave the United States as passengers for West Indian ports. At the very outset of the rebellion, the United States had seized three filibustering vessels at Fernandiño, Florida, and from February, 1895, onward, the government was put to great expense and annoyance by the duty involuntarily imposed upon it, of preventing the departure of filibusters. The coast of Florida and the coast keys were patrolled by four vessels of the navy; revenue cutters were sent among the shallow waters of the keys; and United States district attorneys from New Orleans to New York were kept busy attending to prosecutions brought upon information furnished by the Spanish minister and consuls. But in spite of all these endeavors and the expenditure of millions of dollars, Spain was not satisfied with the action of the United States. She protested against the existence of the Cuban junta in New York and the commercial shipment of supplies to the rebels. If the United States wished to intervene to stop the rebellion, the best way it could be done, according to Spain's foreign minister, was by breaking up the junta and refusing the shelter of her citizenship to those who abetted the Cuban insurrection.

But more influential in arousing the American indignation against Spain than any of the preceding causes, was the information which reached the United States of the suffering and misery existing in Cuba during the insurrection. Such reports were spread with lurid indefiniteness by the newspapers and the Cuban junta, and with sombre precision in the reports of United States consuls. The suffering was caused partly by the determination of the rebels to prevent the harvesting of the sugar and tobacco crops, but more largely by the Spanish policy of concentrating the rural population within the urban centres occupied by the Spanish army. This system, at first applied to the eastern end of the island, was later extended to the west when the invasions of the rebels brought the war into that region. By it the innocent non-combatant population, composed largely of the aged and women and children, was taken from its regular habitations and occupations and compelled to reside in the garrison towns where no means of acquiring or earning a livelihood existed. The feeble efforts of local charity, or the scanty gratuity of a government which was unable to properly feed its own army were all that served to alleviate the sufferings of the "reconcentrados" until the American public and the United States Congress took up the work of mitigating their condition. It is not possible, nor, if possible, would it be advisable to describe the extremes of destitution existing in these concentration camps. The bare facts of mortality statistics show how severe were the privations experienced therein. Consul-General Lee estimated that fifty-two thousand persons had died in such camps within the limits of Havana province alone. In the town of Santa Clara the deaths grew from seventy-eight in January, 1897, before concentration, to one thousand and eleven in the following December after ten months of the system. In another town the increase was from seventeen deaths in January, 1897, to four hundred and seventeen in the following October. In Santiago, on December 21, 1897, it was said that thirty-five per cent of the population were sick in bed

owing to various diseases induced by starvation and exposure, and yet quinine, the most necessary medicine, sold for ten times its price in the United States. In some towns cats were selling for the suspiciously high price of thirty cents apiece. The officers and crew of the United States warship *Montgomery* were followed through the streets of Matanzas and Santiago by crowds of starving people. It is the conservative opinion of the compilers of the Census of Cuba in 1899 for the War Department, that the population of Cuba was depleted by the three years of warfare to the number of two hundred thousand persons. It was the condition of the population of Cuba, more than any other cause, which led to the final intervention of the United States.

If the charge of undue hastiness of judgment in the Cuban affair can with justice be brought against the yellow journals and the jingoes in Congress, there is no basis for such a charge against the executive administration of the United States. President Cleveland, less than ten months after the commencement of the rebellion, called the attention of Congress to the Cuban situation in his message of December, 1895. He adverted to the "flagrant condition of hostilities", which did not, however, give him a pretext for intervention, but simply for the earnest hope "that the devastation of armed conflict may speedily be stayed and order and quiet restored to the distracted island." It was the plain duty of the United States to enforce obedience to her neutrality laws and to "observe in good faith the recognized obligations of international relationship."

Yet this cautious public expression of the president's policy did not mean that he was unwilling to assist in the pacification of Cuba. In April, 1896, Secretary Olney, for the administration, sent a letter to the resident Spanish minister at Washington reviewing the progress of the Cuban rebellion. Spain's hopes of an early conquest, he said, "have been completely disappointed"; the insurgent army had doubled or trebled in number; the annual product of the island had fallen from eighty or a hundred millions to about twenty

Major-general H. C. Corbin.
Adjutant-general, U. S. A.

Arthur McArthur.
Major-general, U. S. A.

millions, and the indications pointed to worse conditions in the near future. While the American people, for humanitarian and economic reasons, were deeply interested in the cessation of these conditions, they did not consider intervention at once. But "that the United States can not contemplate with complacency another ten years of Cuban insurrection . . . may certainly be taken for granted." Mr. Olney then expressed the willingness of the United States to coöperate with Spain for the immediate pacification of the island. Exactly two months from the date of this letter, a reply was received to it from the Spanish government. De Lome said the success of the insurgents was an event "which can not and shall not be." Although Spain wished and even longed for a speedy pacification of the island and was willing to adopt useful reforms therein, yet neither pacification nor reform could come until the submission of the armed rebels to the mother country had become an accomplished fact. Such views, although expressed in courteous language, were of course a flat refusal to accept the president's offer.

Cleveland's message of December, 1896, coming after this refusal, and after the continued failure of the Spanish armies, naturally expressed a less tolerant spirit than the preceding message. Spain was charged with adopting the policy of the insurgents for the wholesale annihilation of property. The insurgents were said to roam at will over two-thirds of the island, although not possessing a permanent government other than that of their military officers. The conditions in Cuba had called forth a vehement demand in the United States for some sort of positive intervention. In spite of this, the president thought that no other great nation would have exercised the same restraint and patient endurance which the United States had shown. He suggested that Spain grant genuine autonomy to Cuba, and offered, on the part of the United States, to guarantee the execution of the plan for the adoption of an autonomous government. If some plan for pacification were not adopted and executed

"the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States" will not be indefinitely maintained; for the country may be placed in such an unprecedented situation "as will fix a limit to our patient waiting for Spain to end the contest", and in which "our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge." Thus did Cleveland forecast the future duty of the country.

Early in McKinley's administration a similar tone was adopted. The instructions given to the new minister to Spain, General Stewart L. Woodford, show the same feeling that the period of forbearance was fast drawing to a close. It was in July, 1897, that these instructions were given, and their keynote is found in the sentence, "It may not be reasonably asked or expected that a policy of mere inaction can be safely prolonged." The question, it was alleged, had passed beyond the recognition of the belligerent rights of the Cubans to that of intervention; and to justify intervention an onlooking nation need only wait a reasonable time. "Assuredly", continue the instructions, "Spain cannot expect this Government to sit idle, letting vast interests suffer, our political elements disturbed, and the country perpetually embroiled, while no progress is being made in the settlement of the Cuban problem." At the outset, therefore, the new administration simply took up the question where it had been left by Cleveland and Olney. Woodford was, however, received in Madrid as the exponent of a new and more aggressive attitude upon the part of the United States. This was shown by the efforts of ministers of other European powers resident in Madrid to elicit from Woodford a statement of the purpose of his mission and the plans of his country respecting Cuba. To representatives of France, Great Britain and Russia, within a short time of his arrival, he repeated in substance the terms of his instructions, laying stress upon the absence of any desire upon the part of the United States to annex or to establish a protectorate over Cuba, but also emphasizing the impossibility

of an indefinite continuance of the conditions existing in Cuba.

A change of ministry occurred in Spain in September, 1897, and it was not until late in October that Woodford received any response to the implied demands of his instructions which he had communicated to the Spanish government on September 18th. The Sagasta ministry, in their note, stated the policy of the new more liberal government to be the continuance of energetic military measures conducted in as humanitarian a manner as possible; and some political action honestly leading to the autonomy of the Cuban people. "Peace, with liberty and local self-government", would be the motto henceforth. But since the United States had so often expressed the desire to assist in the pacification of Cuba, the ministry suggested the best way to do so would be by energetically restraining the use of the territory of the United States as a field of action by the revolutionists and filibusters. This last insinuation that the United States had not fulfilled her duty was indignantly repelled by Woodford and by Secretary Sherman. The latter, however, expressed much gratification at the change of policy of Spain, and on the last day of November wrote to Woodford that already some evidence of greater leniency in Cuba had been noticed.

Without doubt the knowledge of the Spanish plans for autonomy and the recent evidence of a less rigorous military policy in Cuba, led to the more friendly tone adopted by President McKinley in his message of December, 1897. The message recited the endeavors of the government through Minister Woodford to settle peaceably the Cuban trouble. It outlined the proposed autonomist form of government, commented favorably upon the retirement of Weyler and the appointment of Blanco, and expressed satisfaction at the policy of clemency recently adopted. For the future, the president put aside the recognition of Cuban belligerency, and held that the sole practicable policy was that of intervention upon humanitarian grounds. Such a policy, however,

could not be advocated in the light of the recent change in Spanish methods; and the only choice was to give Spain a fair opportunity for her more lenient plans. "The near future will demonstrate whether the indispensable condition of a righteous peace, just alike to the Cubans and to Spain as well as equitable to all our interests . . . is likely to be attained."

Great pleasure was expressed by the Spanish ministers with the generous tenor of the president's message, but its generosity seemed rather to embolden the Spanish Cabinet. During February, 1898, the Cabinet assumed so haughty a tone, that Woodford informed the minister of foreign affairs, that the future actions of the United States would be governed entirely by the practical conditions existing in Cuba. Diplomatically we had almost reached a rupture before the *Maine* disaster; and the issue of war or peace lay bound up with the failure or success of autonomy in Cuba.

But the possibility of autonomist success was very slight indeed. The proposals for self-government need not be discussed in detail here. While many of the proposed measures appear theoretically valuable, few of them were put into execution before the war broke out, and these only in narrow districts of territory. Autonomy was vigorously opposed by two classes, who, together, made up by far the most active and numerous portions of the Cuban population. The Spanish inhabitants opposed it because they feared the loss of their legal privileges and the establishment of negro or half-breed domination. On the other hand, the Cuban insurrectionists opposed it still more violently, because they saw that independence lay immediately beyond the failure of autonomy. They realized, what McKinley had told the world in December, 1897, that the choice was now between autonomy and American intervention; between a continuance of Spanish control under the burden of the Cuban debt, and independence under American guidance; and the greater part of the Cubans preferred the latter to the former. Thus the support for autonomy was weak in numbers, in

personnel and in influence. In Havana during January there were riots incited by Spanish soldiers and officers against the autonomist leaders and newspapers. Not yet had the Spanish official class reached that point of reasoning which had been attained almost intuitively by the Cubans, that the Spanish loss of Cuba would be the inevitable result of the defeat of autonomy. On March 1, 1898, Secretary Sherman wrote confidentially to Minister Woodford affirming that no good result had come from the offer of autonomy to the Cubans, and that agricultural and financial conditions in the island were, if anything, worse than they had been.

In January, 1898, President McKinley and his Cabinet determined to send warships to Cuba, thus resuming naval courtesies after they had been suspended for several years. The real purpose of these visits appears to have been the protection of American citizens in Cuba, against whom threats had sometimes been made in the riots against the autonomists. The commanders were also to report upon the Cuban conditions, especially the situation of the reconcentrados. The presence of the *Maine* at Havana was not wished for either by Consul-General Lee or by the Spanish authorities; and the former telegraphed to Washington advising against the visit, while the latter requested that the visit be deferred until they could get instructions from Madrid. Despite these protests, however, the *Maine* was sent to Havana, arriving there on January 25th; and somewhat later the *Montgomery* visited the eastern parts of the island. Instead of allaying any feeling against the United States, the presence of these vessels rather angered the official classes and those opposed to autonomy. While on January 24th Lee did not feel the need of such protection to American citizens, afterward, on February 4th, he writes that a ship or ships should be kept at Havana all the time, and unless this be done the visit of the *Maine* would be worse than useless.

At forty minutes past nine in the evening of February 15th, the *Maine,* while at anchor at a point in Havana

harbor assigned to her by the port authorities, was destroyed by an explosion. The explosion, or rather the explosions, for observers distinguished two, wrecked the entire forward part of the ship, caused her to sink, and killed two officers and two hundred and sixty-four of her crew. Captain Sigsbee telegraphed, "Public opinion should be suspended until further report", and steps were taken by the United States and by the Spanish authorities to conduct independent investigations into the causes of the disaster. Despite Sigsbee's warning, the American people fixed the responsibility for the loss of the *Maine* upon the Spanish government, and but for the unpreparedness of the army and navy departments, and the reluctance of the president and his advisers to undertake war, Congress would have earlier voiced this sentiment. As it was, on March 9th, Congress by a unanimous vote of both houses, passed the national defence act which placed fifty million dollars at the disposal of the president for defensive purposes.

Over a month passed after the destruction of the *Maine* before the report of the American board of naval officers was made known. In the meantime, a Spanish naval captain with a secretary conducted an investigation, heard witnesses, and reached the conclusion that the vessel was destroyed by an explosion of the forward magazine, probably resulting from the faulty construction of the *Maine* which did not sufficiently protect the magazines from spontaneous heat in the adjoining coal bunkers. Daringly facing the future, Captain Peral predicted "that the interior and exterior examination of the bottom of the *Maine* whenever it is possible, unless the bottom of the ship and that of the place in the bay where it is sunk are altered by the work which is being carried on for the total or partial recovery of the vessel, will prove the correctness of all that is said in this report; but this must not be understood to mean that the accuracy of these present conclusions requires such proof." This was on March 22d. Three days later the finding of the American court of inquiry was made known,

and on March 28th, the president sent its report to Congress. The court concluded that the loss of the vessel was in no respect due to negligence on the part of her crew, but that she was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of her forward magazines. No evidence was found that could fix the responsibility for the explosion. Public sentiment in America, when the finding of the court of inquiry was made known, held Spain responsible for the disaster, agreeing with the view later taken by the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, that submarine mines are controlled exclusively by governments or governmental agents, that they are not manufactured for commercial uses, and cannot be obtained by purchase in ordinary ways. Hence it was believed that the loss of the *Maine* was, in the words of the committee, "compassed either by the official act of the Spanish authorities, or . . . by a negligence on their part . . . equivalent in culpability to positive criminal action."

It is probably true that the loss of the *Maine* delayed rather than hastened the coming of the war, while at the same time it strengthened the determination in the United States to drive Spain from Cuba. Diplomatically, at Havana, at Washington, and at Madrid before February 15th, we had reached such a point that war seemed inevitable. In Cuba, Consul-General Lee was *persona non grata* to the authorities; at Washington, the publication of an intercepted letter in which De Lome, the resident Spanish minister, had severely criticised President McKinley and charged him with appealing to the jingoes, had led to the minister's recall; and, in Madrid, Woodford had about given up hope of peace. But after February 15th better prospects of peace appeared. The *Maine* episode, the alarming unanimity of anti-Spanish feeling in America, and the ease with which fifty millions were appropriated from a full treasury for defense purposes, stunned the Spanish nation, as Woodford wrote; and made her more ready to adopt radical measures for the solution of the Cuban situation. On March 17th,

Woodford writes that since last August he has gradually lost hope of preserving peace, but that now he had greater faith in the prospects of peace than at any time since he had left the United States. In interviews with prominent business men he thought he saw a growing popular willingness to sell Cuba to the United States; and the Spanish minister of foreign affairs even permitted him to make such a suggestion, a subject which for years had been most rigidly tabooed in diplomatic intercourse with Spain. He writes on the 19th to President McKinley, "You see how my faith [in peace] has strengthened."

But affairs in Spain did not move rapidly enough to satisfy the American Congress and people. On March 26th, the president suggested to Spain that she revoke the reconcentration order, support the reconcentrados until they could maintain themselves, grant full self-government to the Cubans, and permit the United States to assist in bringing about these reforms. The next day Woodford proposed an armistice in Cuba. In America the long expected message of the president on the Cuban situation, which Congress had demanded months earlier, was being withheld from day to day. But it could not long be deferred. Urgent cable messages were sent to Woodford to hasten the propositions for peace: "Important to have prompt answer on armistice matter"; "feeling here is intense." But the Spanish habit of delay could not be changed; the Cortes would meet in May and they must be consulted.

At last through the influence of the Pope with the Spanish Queen counter-proposals were obtained, but these were not satisfactory, and an armistice in Cuba was again demanded. The following day, April 6th, the representatives in Washington of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austro-Hungary, Italy, and Russia expressed through the secretary of state an appeal to the moderation and humanity of the American people in the negotiations with Spain. To this the president replied that he shared the hopes of the powers for peace, and wished the equal recognition by the powers

of our "own earnest and unselfish endeavors to fulfill a duty to humanity by ending a situation the indefinite prolongation of which has become insufferable."

The president's message could not longer be withheld in view of the popular and Congressional demand for action; and although the president learned a few hours before the sending of the document to Congress that Blanco had ordered a conditional suspension of hostilities in Cuba, he could not longer keep silence. The message went to Congress on April 11th, and from that day the overthrow of Spanish power in Cuba was assured. This was not because the president added anything of a sensational nature to the facts already known concerning Cuba, for, indeed, the message was somewhat mild when compared with the violent editorials and thrilling news items to which the people had become accustomed, but rather because of the altered attitude of the president, who, in the message, surrendered his peace policy, and gave full play to the plans of the war party in Congress. He recommended impartial intervention as the only practicable means of stopping the anarchy and destitution in Cuba; he asked Congress for authority to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and he protested that he had "exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors."

Nothing now remained to be done from the Congressional point of view, but to decide the nature of the demand to be made upon Spain. From the administrative standpoint there was much to be done before the country could be properly prepared for war; but Congress granted the departments only one more week for preparation, while the two houses meanwhile vigorously debated whether they should recognize the independence of the Cuban people or of the Cuban Republic. Fortunately, the majority in Congress followed the president's advice and refused to recognize the existence of the Cuban Republic. The Senate resolutions adopted on

April 16th, provided for the recognition of the Republic of Cuba as the lawful government of the island; the House, on motion of Mr. Dingley, struck out this provision, and afterward, in conference, the Senate receded from its position. The House conferees, however, were compelled to adopt the amendment of Senator Teller which became the fourth of the resolutions. As approved on the 20th of April the joint-resolutions provided, first "That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent"; second, that the United States demands the relinquishment by Spain of its authority and government in Cuba, and the withdrawal of its land and naval forces; third, that the president be empowered to use the land, naval and militia forces to the extent necessary to carry into effect these resolutions; and fourth, that the United States disclaims any intention to exercise sovereignty over the island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination to leave the government and control of the island to its people. These resolutions were adopted in the Senate by a vote of 42 to 35, and by 311 to 6 in the House.

Spain, on learning that the president had signed these resolutions, did not wait for the demands set forth therein to be made upon her, but on April 21st, gave Minister Woodford his passports. War had begun.

CHAPTER II

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

At the outbreak of the war with Spain the United States was ill prepared for war. Financially it was strong, as the overwhelming subscriptions to the national loan of two hundred million dollars showed; and the navy, too, although not so large as its friends had wished, was yet excellently equipped, manned and disciplined. But in the military department hardly an approach had been made toward placing the army upon a war footing. As in the War of 1812, the Mexican War and the Civil War, so in the War with Spain armies had to be formed out of untrained militiamen and civilians, who were ready to volunteer their services. On the first of April, 1898, the regular army numbered 2,143 officers and 26,040 privates, a total of 28,183 men. This force was at the time scattered at eighty different posts, mainly in the west, and hundreds or even thousands of miles distant from the Atlantic sea-coast.

Not only was the army insignificant for either defensive or offensive operations, but also the number of staff officers of the war department was not sufficient for more than the bare needs of the existing army. For years Congress had been cutting down the estimates for the army service until in 1898 when war came, the department lacked almost everything necessary for the equipment of an army ten times the size of that on a peace footing. The quartermaster's department had equipment for only ten thousand men more than the regular army; the ordnance department had on hand

only 53,000 Krag-Jorgensen rifles, while for the 265,000 Springfield rifles there was no smokeless powder. Further, the necessary plants and machinery for the manufacture of the needed articles existed, in many cases, on only a small scale in a few establishments. The plants for the manufacture of smokeless powder were small; the needed supply of cotton-duck, of blue cloth, of khaki-cloth, and of many other articles did not exist in the country on April 21st. The medical department was as poorly prepared; its supplies and operating force were no more than necessary for the existing army on a peace footing.

These departments would have been more nearly ready for actual war but for the president's interpretation of the "National Defence Act" of March 9, 1898. President McKinley believed that the appropriations under this act could be used only for coast defence until after war had been declared. Consequently, while money was spent freely by the navy department, and for harbor and coast defences under the direction of the war department, no funds were available for increasing the regular stores at the great supply agencies of the war department. Much of the confusion, delay and suffering experienced later in the military service would have been avoided if this money had been used and contracts made and filled between March 9 and April 21, 1898. Under the president's instructions nothing was added to the stock of clothing, tentage, harness, food supplies, camp furniture, or medical supplies before April 21st, except that warranted by existing appropriations and laws. On the other hand, the ordnance, engineer, and signal bureaus of the war department received all the money necessary for thorough war preparation. This was expended in placing coast defence guns, in setting mine-fields in twenty-eight principal harbors, and in establishing a system of telegraph, telephone, and signal communication along the coast.

The navy department was far better prepared for hostilities than the war department. The navy has always been more popular than the army, and for years Congress has

voted it generous appropriations. The president held, also, that its allotment from the "National Defence Act" was immediately available. Up to April 21st, forty-four vessels had been added by purchase to the navy, and by August 12th, eighty-four more had been bought. Its fighting force of 12,500 men was also increased to 24,123. At the close of hostilities, the navy included five battleships, two armored cruisers, twelve protected cruisers, three unprotected cruisers, eleven torpedo-boats, and one hundred and sixty-three miscellaneous vessels. Before the outbreak of the war, the men had been in training for months in tactical manœuvres and gunnery practice; stocks of coal and ammunition were kept full; and by April 15th, in the opinion of Secretary of the Navy John D. Long, the navy was ready for war. Its three main squadrons, the North Atlantic, the Flying, and the Asiatic, were in positions to menace, respectively, Cuba, the Spanish coast, and the Philippines.

But real military preparations did not begin until after April 23d. On the 15th, orders were given to transfer the greater part of the regular army from the West to Chickamauga, New Orleans, Mobile, and Tampa in the South, in anticipation of an attack on Cuba. On April 23d the president called for 125,000 volunteers, and on May 25th, for 75,000 more. Congress, by the acts of April 22d, April 26th, and May 11th, authorized the enlistment of volunteers in time of war, and provided for the increase of the regular army to 61,000, and for three regiments of volunteer cavalry, three of engineers, and ten immune regiments. By May 31st, a little over a month after the declaration of war, 125,000 men had been mustered into the service; and by the end of August the total military forces, regular and volunteer, reached 274,717. The Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger, has pointed out in his volume on the Spanish-American War, that in 1861 by May 31st, only 16,000 men had been mustered in, and that the figure 275,000 was not reached until November in spite of the far more pressing emergency.

Encampments for this army of a quarter of a million men were selected mainly in the South, where transportation to Cuba could easily be procured. At Chickamauga Park in Georgia, 46,000 men were encamped. At Camp Alger in Virginia, near Washington, there were about 20,000. Camp Cuba Libre, near Jacksonville, Florida, had an enrollment in August of 28,000 men. Other camps were established early in the war at Miami and Tampa, Florida, and near San Francisco, California. Later, when the troops were no longer needed in the South, camps were organized on Long Island; in the higher regions of Alabama; at Knoxville, Tennessee; at Lexington, Kentucky, and near Middletown, Pennsylvania.

Throughout the war there was criticism of the war department. Yet the work of a staff force organized for an army of 28,000 men, successfully enlisting, arming, equipping, disciplining, feeding, clothing, and transporting an army ten times that size within the period of four months, was a mighty one. There was, however, too much red-tape and "paper-work"; and naturally officers accustomed for thirty years to a small army and peace conditions could not at once meet all the necessities of new conditions. But probably the most truthful and most severe criticism of the war department, although expressed in courteous language, is the judgment of the Dodge Investigating Commission, appointed by the president in September, 1898, to inquire into the conduct of the war department during the war, which charges not dishonesty, but inability; which does not question the good intentions of the heads of the war offices, but rather their intellectual power to comprehend the needs of the situation. The opinion of the commission is summed in the charge that there was a "lack of that complete grasp of the situation which was essential to the highest efficiency and discipline of the army."

The American plan of war was a simple one. The North Atlantic fleet commanded by Rear-Admiral William T. Sampson, should be used to blockade the Cuban coast; the

Pacific squadron commanded by Commodore George Dewey, should attack and destroy the Spanish fleet in the Philippines, and the Flying Squadron under Commodore Winfield S. Schley, should protect the American coast, or attack that of Spain as occasion demanded. The army should invade Cuba and overcome the Spanish forces there, but according to the original plans this invasion was not to take place at once. The volunteer army should be disciplined in camps until the rainy season in Cuba was over and be thrown into the island about September, if, in the meantime, the naval question had been settled, and transports could be safely sent to the island. Until September, minor harassing expeditions should invade Cuba, and give supplies and support to the Cubans. Not many days after the opening of hostilities, however, considerable changes were made in these plans.

The army, Major-General Nelson A. Miles commanding, was divided into eight corps, each composed of twenty-seven regiments, grouped into brigades and divisions. The corps were commanded as follows: First, Major-General John R. Brooke; Second, Major-General William M. Graham; Third, Major-General James I. Wade; Fourth, Major-General John J. Coppinger; Fifth, Major-General William R. Shafter; Sixth, Major-General James H. Wilson; Seventh, Major-General Fitzhugh Lee; Eighth, Major-General Wesley Merritt.

The United States began hostilities by the order of the president dated April 22d, declaring one hundred and fifty miles of the north coast of Cuba blockaded, including Havana, and the town of Cienfuegos on the south coast. On April 25th, Congress passed an act declaring that a state of war existed with Spain, and had existed since the 21st of April. The president's proclamation of the 22d was followed immediately by the seizure of several Spanish vessels, and by minor attacks along the Cuban coast by the blockading squadron.

The Asiatic squadron for months had been secretly getting ready for an attack upon the Spanish fleet in the Philippines.

As early as January 27th, Commodore Dewey was ordered to retain all men whose terms of enlistment had expired. A month later he was told that his duty in the event of war with Spain would be to prevent the Spanish fleet from leaving the Philippines, and then to undertake offensive operations in the islands. About the first of April he was ordered to keep his vessels fully supplied with the best coal, and to purchase full stocks of provisions. On the 6th he received orders to purchase a supply steamer, and before night he had bought an English vessel with three thousand tons of coal on board, and had engaged her crew to serve under her new flag. On the 24th of April he was informed that war had commenced, and was ordered to use his utmost endeavors to capture or to destroy the Spanish fleet. After waiting several days for the arrival of the American consul from Manila, Dewey left Mirs Bay, China, and reached Manila Bay in the evening of April 30th.

Commodore Dewey's fleet consisted of the cruisers *Olympia, Baltimore, Raleigh,* and *Boston,* the gun-boats *Concord* and *Petrel,* the despatch-boat *McCulloch,* and two supply-vessels. Proceeding slowly up the bay, the fleet arrived off Manila at daybreak, and at nineteen minutes of six on the morning of May 1st, opened fire upon the Spanish fleet. The Spanish fleet included two protected cruisers, five unprotected cruisers, and several gun-boats and supply-vessels. The Spaniards remained in a position close to the shallow water of the bay near Cavite, and flanked by the shore batteries, while Dewey's fleet steamed along in a line parallel to that of the Spaniards, then turned back along the Spanish front, keeping up a continuous fire at distances from two to four miles. Three times to the westward and twice to the eastward did the *Olympia* lead the column past the Spanish ships and the shore batteries.

Two launches put out from the Spanish line with the intention of torpedoing the *Olympia,* but they were driven back before a torpedo could be launched. The Spanish flag-ship, the *Reina Cristina,* made a desperate attempt to

Richmond P. Hobson.
Lieutenant, U. S. N.

Victor Blue.
Lieutenant, U. S. N.

come to close range with the *Olympia,* but receiving such a galling fire it was barely able to return to its place, and flames burst forth from the vessel which were not extinguished until she sank.

Dewey received a report, at 7.35 A. M., that the ammunition for his five-inch guns was almost exhausted. He withdrew his fleet for consultation, and the men were given breakfast. Later the report of a scarcity of ammunition was found to be false, and at 11.16 A. M. the attack was renewed. But only one vessel, the *Don Antonio de Ulloa,* was able to return the fire. She was soon sunk, the shore batteries were silenced, and at 12.30 P. M. the squadron ceased firing. Eleven armed vessels had been sunk or beached, and two captured. A fighting force of 1,796 men had been overcome by one of a slightly smaller number. On the Spanish flagship alone, one hundred and fifty men were killed and ninety wounded.

Admiral Montojo, in his report of the battle, vividly describes the effect of the American fire upon his flag-ship, "The enemy shortened the distance between us, and rectifying his aim, covered us with a rain of rapid-fire projectiles. At 7.30 one shell destroyed completely the steering gear. I ordered to steer by hand while the rudder was out of action. In the meantime another shell exploded on the poop and put out of action nine men. Another destroyed the mizzen masthead, bringing down the flag and my ensign, which were replaced immediately. A fresh shell exploded in the officers' cabin, covering the hospital with blood, destroying the wounded who were being treated there. Another exploded in the ammunition room astern, filling the quarters with smoke and preventing the working of the hand steering gear. As it was impossible to control the fire, I had to flood the magazine when the cartridges were beginning to explode. The ship being out of control, the hull, smoke-pipe, and mast riddled with shot; and confused with the cries of the wounded, half of her crew out of action, among whom were seven officers, I gave the

order to sink and abandon the ship before the magazines should explode."

On the American side not a man was killed; seven were slightly wounded. The Spaniards lost at least 381 men killed and wounded. No American vessel was injured seriously; and the reports of the American captains are unintentionally humorous in their enumeration of the trifling damages inflicted upon rail staunchions, boat davits, and other exposed parts of their vessels. The *Raleigh* was struck once, the *Petrel* received a scratch; the *Concord* was not touched. The American fleet was superior to the Spanish, but when the five shore batteries are included with the Spanish force, the contest, so far as guns went, must be considered nearly equal. The battle is noteworthy as a naval event not because of the American victory, which was anticipated by competent critics, but on account of the remarkable disparity in the injuries received by the two fleets.

In the three days following the battle, Dewey seized and occupied the arsenal and forts at Cavite, opposite Manila, and the forts on Corregidor Island at the mouth of Manila Bay. The governor-general at Manila was informed that the city would be shelled if the Manila batteries fired upon the fleet. Dewey controlled the bay completely, and could have taken the city at any time, but he did not have a sufficient force to hold it, nor to maintain order, to protect foreigners, and to prevent outrages by the insurgent natives. International law would require him as the conqueror to assume these responsibilities, and failure to protect Europeans would be sufficient justification for the intervention of their respective governments. His seeming neglect would have been the signal for interference by some of the foreign warships which after the battle of Manila were rushed to the harbor and surrounded his fleet. Within a short time there were five German, three British, one French, and one Japanese men-of-war in the bay. They were all armored vessels, the German alone probably a match for Dewey's

fleet. Dewey awaited anxiously the arrival of the coast-defence monitors, *Monterey* and *Monadnock,* with their thirteen-inch guns, which had been promptly despatched to his aid, but over three months passed before they reached Manila.

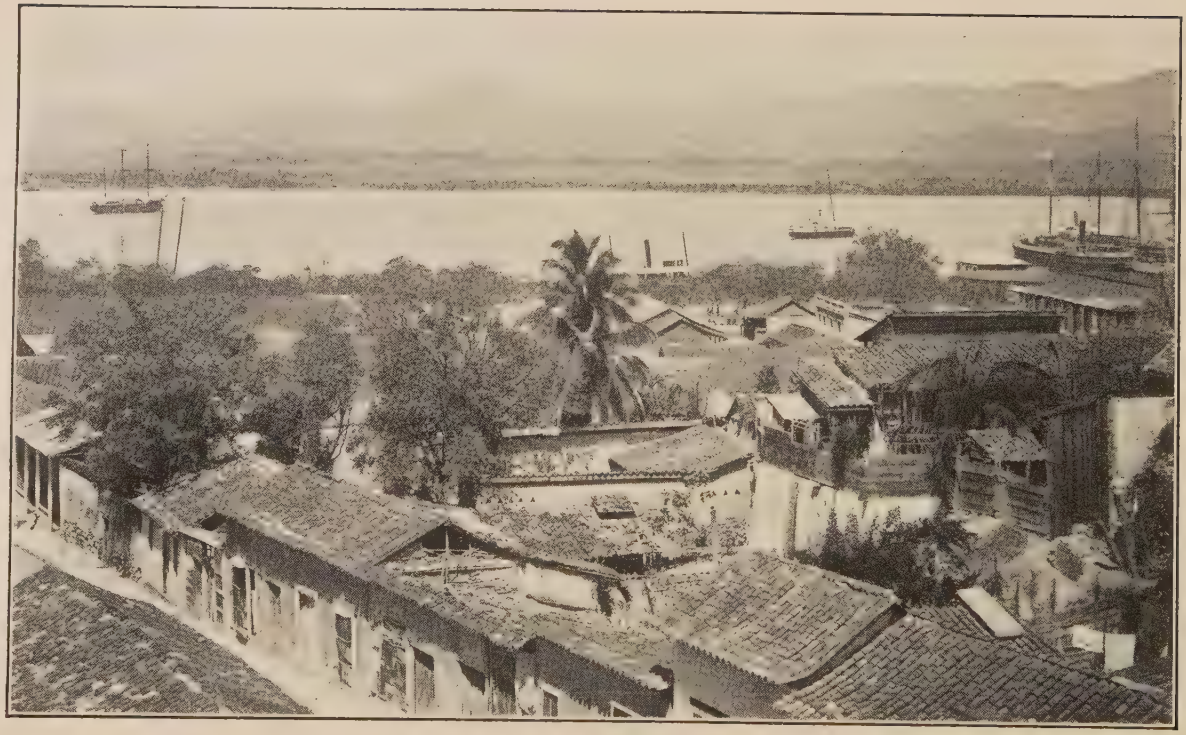
In the meantime the government at Washington had been changing the plan of war. At the outbreak of hostilities several minor expeditions were landed on the Cuban coast with supplies and ammunition for the Cuban army. Later, on April 29th, General Shafter was ordered to land with five thousand men on the south coast of Cuba near Tunas, and, coöperating with the Cubans, to make a reconnaissance of the Spanish positions. This plan was set aside when news reached the United States that a Spanish fleet had left the Cape Verde Islands on April 29th, and was sailing westward. Fearing that this fleet might reinforce Havana, extensive preparations were made in the first and second weeks of May to besiege that city. The whole regular army was to land at Mariel, a port about twenty-six miles west of Havana where a base was to be formed. The best of the volunteers should be sent over, and a regular advance made upon Havana. But in the midst of preparations to carry out these plans, news came that the Spanish fleet under Cervera had entered Martinique, whence it could either relieve Havana or attack the Atlantic coast of the United States. No transports to Cuba could be moved in the face of such danger, and the plans of invasion had to be set aside until the problem of naval supremacy had been settled.

Early in April there gathered at the Cape Verde Islands a Spanish fleet composed of the armored cruisers *Cristobal Colon, Infanta Maria Teresa, Viscaya,* and *Admirante Oquendo,* and the torpedo-boat destroyers, *Furor, Pluton,* and *Terror,* under the command of Rear-Admiral Pascual Cervera. After spending about two weeks coaling and fitting the vessels, the fleet left the islands on April 29th, in conformity to the proclamation of neutrality by Portugal

on the preceding day. The objective point was some good harbor in Cuba, but the course was laid well down to the South American coast. Owing to the necessity for frequent repairs, as shown by the log-book of the *Cristobal Colon,* and to the trouble in towing the three torpedo-boats which could not carry enough coal to steam across the Atlantic, the progress of the fleet was slow. Making, on the average, only one hundred and seventy nautical miles a day, it was thirteen days before the island of Martinique was reached.

The navy department at Washington learned of the departure of the Spanish fleet the same day that it took place, and before another day, sealed orders had been sent to the commanders of the scout vessels *Harvard, Yale,* and *St. Louis,* chartered from the American Line of steamships, directing two of them to patrol eastward of the West Indies, and the third to remain off the Porto Rican coast. On May 12th, the *Harvard* reported the presence of the Spanish fleet in the waters of Martinique. The following day the "Flying Squadron" under Commodore Schley left Fortress Monroe for Key West. The department now believed that the enemy would go to the Venezuelan coast to coal, and then try to reach either Havana, or a port connected with Havana by railroad, like Cienfuegos on the south coast. Sampson was ordered to maintain the blockade of Havana, while Schley was sent to Cienfuegos. The anticipated delay of the Spanish fleet on the South American coast did not take place, however, and on May 19th, three days before Schley reached Cienfuegos, Admiral Cervera attained the shelter of the harbor of Santiago de Cuba in the extreme eastern part of the island. On the same day, through an American telegraph company, the navy department was informed of the presence of the fleet at Santiago.

In spite of this early information and of the importance of immediate action, ten days passed before an effective blockade of Santiago was established. Schley left Key West on the 19th, sailing by the west coast of Cuba for Cienfuegos. He remained before that port two and a half days, not



Santiago, from the market place.

leaving until the evening of May 24th, when he proceeded, under orders from Washington, to Santiago. Arriving off that place on the 26th with a depleted coal supply, he made fruitless attempts, in the face of a heavy sea, to transfer coal from his collier to the warships. Fearing for his coal supply, he turned back to Key West on the 27th, without having seen the Spanish fleet or taking means to blockade it if present in the harbor. Here, as President Roosevelt said, Schley made his gravest error. Most imperative orders had reached him to maintain a blockade at Santiago at all hazards unless he was sure the Spanish fleet was not in the harbor. Despite the roughness of the sea he should have devised some means of coaling his vessels, and his collier, although disabled, contained enough coal to fill the bunkers of all his fleet. Later the sea quieted, and Schley coaled his vessels fifty miles to the westward of Santiago. Returning at last to the port, on May 29th he established a blockade, and on the same day he informed Secretary Long that the Spanish fleet had been sighted in Santiago harbor. By this time, the secretary deeply chagrined at the delay in ascertaining the position of the Spanish squadron, had ordered Sampson to repair by the eastern route to Santiago, which by rapid steaming he reached on June 1st, and thereafter a close and very effective blockade was maintained.

The retirement of Cervera's fleet to Santiago entirely changed the American plan of war. The strong movement already in preparation against Havana was given up for a combined attack by the army and fleet upon Santiago. On May 30th, eleven days after the Spanish fleet had entered that port, but only one day after Schley had informed the navy department of its presence there, orders were given by the war department to General William R. Shafter, commanding the Fifth Army Corps at Tampa, to place his force on transports, and under convoy by the navy, to proceed to Santiago. Transports for the Havana expedition had already been collected at Tampa, and it was thought that Shafter's army could be embarked in a few days.

But those who believed this were not familiar with the conditions at Tampa and Port Tampa. Tampa was reached from the north by two poorly equipped single-track railroads, and but a single track led from that place to Port Tampa, the point of embarkation nine miles distant. Here there was one wharf for the loading of troops and supplies, which could accommodate at least nine ships at one time. To these places 25,000 troops with their animals and equipment, and supplies for 70,000 men for three months were shipped in most careless fashion. Confusion reigned supreme. The "Rough Riders" under Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, were delayed twenty-four hours without rations or camp assignment. General Miles reported one thousand cars side-tracked, some of them hundreds of miles away at Columbia, S. C. At first the cars bore no marks describing their contents, and bills of lading or invoices were not at hand. Officers went from car to car along miles of track, breaking the car-seals and hunting among their contents for the supplies needed. Troops were suffering from lack of proper clothing, yet fifteen car-loads of uniforms were found side-tracked twenty-five miles from Tampa. Hospital stores not shipped in car-load lots were buried under miscellaneous boxes and bales, and at one time an outfit for a hospital with two hundred beds was lost for several weeks. Siege guns and the ammunition for them were separated; the component parts of the standard ration were not shipped together; and transports were compelled to repeat several times the tedious operations of tying up to the wharf before a complete cargo could be obtained.

Similar difficulties were encountered in loading the troops upon the transports. The one long wharf was a scene of confusion; artillery trains, animals, stores and thousands of troops were crowded together. When the orders were given to embark the men, it was found that the fleet of transports whose capacity, estimated by the rules of the British navy, should have been 25,000 men and their

supplies, would hold, with excessive crowding, only two-thirds that number. A scramble followed among the regiments to secure places and escape the chagrin of being compelled to remain behind the expedition. On June 8th an army of nearly 17,000 men, with 3,000 animals, and equipments, ammunition, subsistence, and scanty hospital supplies, left Port Tampa for a voyage of one thousand miles. The fleet of transports was composed of thirty-eight vessels, including several tugs and lighters for assistance in disembarking in Cuba. Twelve vessels of the navy convoyed the transport fleet.

Scarcely had the fleet left the wharf at Port Tampa when it was signalled to heave to; and for six days the troops sweltered in the heat of Tampa Bay. The delay was caused by the reported presence of a Spanish squadron near the Nicholas channel; the hostile squadron proved to be three United States men-of-war. On June 14th the fleet got under way from the Florida coast and after an undisturbed voyage reached the neighborhood of Santiago on the 20th. Upon the journey General Shafter, from maps and information given by Cubans who accompanied him, acquainted himself with the topography of Santiago, and formed his plans of campaign.

The disembarkation began at Daiquiri about nineteen miles east of Santiago, on June 22d. While the navy shelled the coast and some of the transports made a feint of landing to the west of Santiago, the real military operation took place at Daiquiri. The transports did not attempt to reach the wharf at that place, but the landing was made by loading the troops into ships' boats and then towing them ashore by means of the navy launches. Despite a heavy sea and much confusion, six thousand men, each carrying one hundred rounds of ammunition and three days' rations were landed the first day. For six days continued the work of landing troops, animals and supplies, but so hampered was the fleet for lack of sufficient lighters and tugs that in two weeks no more than three days' rations

beyond what were being actually consumed could be accumulated on shore.

On the morning of the 24th of June Shafter held Daiquiri and Siboney on the sea-coast, the latter about twelve miles to the eastward of Santiago. His intention was to hold the road connecting these places and to take a strong defensive position on the roads leading from Siboney to Santiago; and to remain in this position until the full force of troops and adequate supplies had been landed. However, General S. B. M. Young's brigade passed beyond Siboney to the northwest, travelling by two roads which converged upon Las Guasimas, where the enemy lay heavily entrenched. Here about a thousand dismounted cavalrymen of the First and Tenth regulars and the First Volunteers ("Rough Riders") engaged the enemy, and after an obstinate resistance drove him from his position. Young lost 16 men killed and 52 wounded. By this skirmish the Spanish were driven back to the fortifications around Santiago, and the American army obtained an open country suitable for encampment while awaiting the general attack on the city.

For six days no attempt was made to advance beyond Sevilla, where nearly all the army was concentrated. From Sevilla the sole available road led through dense jungles toward Santiago. This city is situated on the eastern shore of the bottle-shaped bay of the same name, about four miles from the mouth of the harbor. Its outer line of defences ran along the summit of San Juan ridge on the west bank of the San Juan River, and about three-quarters of a mile from the city limits. Besides the road to Siboney, which bore rather to the southeast, another road from Guantanamo entered the city from the northeast; and on this road about three miles from the city and almost the same distance from the Siboney road on the south, the Spaniards had strongly fortified the town of El Caney. Both San Juan ridge and El Caney were protected with barbed-wire entanglements, rifle-pits, and block-houses. Personally reconnoitering the situation on June 30th, Shafter determined upon a general

attack on the following day. General H. W. Lawton's division was ordered to march that afternoon across from the Siboney road northward to the neighborhood of El Caney, which he was to attack early on July 1st. It was expected that he would reduce it in a few hours, and then join in the general advance on Santiago. The divisions of General J. F. Kent and General Joseph Wheeler were to advance along the Siboney road toward San Juan ridge, and attack the position as soon as they heard Lawton's firing and believed he was driving back the enemy. The attack on the immediate fortifications of the city would then be made by Lawton, Kent and Wheeler. The plan failed in some of its details because of the strong force opposed to Lawton.

At El Caney on the morning of July 1st, Lawton had surrounded the Spanish position, and at about six o'clock he opened fire. The defence was far stronger than had been expected; the Spaniards occupied five block-houses, a stone fort, a stone church building, and rifle-pits cut into the solid rock. The fire from these positions was so fierce that they could not be taken by an open charge. Attack after attack was made upon the stone fort to the northeast of the town. At last, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Seventh and Twelfth Infantry, after creeping up through the grass as far as possible, charged upon the fort and secured possession of it. In the meantime, General William Ludlow had been occupied with the block-houses and rifle-pits to the southwest; Colonel Evan Miles was on the south; and about noon, General John C. Bates's brigade came up and joined in the attack on the stone fort from the southeast. So severe was the Spanish fire on all sides that the advance at almost all points, except in the final charges, had to be made by creeping up gradually to the enemy's position, and taking advantage of every natural protection. Not until four o'clock in the afternoon were the block-houses and the town finally occupied. Practically the entire Spanish force was slain or captured, General Ludlow's position to the southwest making its escape almost impossible.

During the evening of June 30th, Kent's and Wheeler's divisions had advanced along the narrow, jungle-lined road to within two or three miles of Santiago, and early on the morning of July 1st, the troops crowded again down the narrow road to the San Juan River. When the United States artillery opened fire at about eight o'clock, two hours after Lawton had begun the attack on El Caney, the smoke of the guns made known to the enemy the American position; on the other hand, the Spanish positions could not be determined with accuracy as their artillery and infantry used only smokeless powder. Later a captive balloon, led down the crowded road, made an excellent target for the Spanish guns. It partially collapsed at the ford across the San Juan River and by drawing the Spanish fire to that point caused some loss of life while the infantry was crossing the river. But the information gained from the balloon reconnoissance led to an appreciation of the Spanish strength at San Juan and to the deploying of the troops instead of a direct advance along the road.

Crossing the ford the troops deployed irregularly in the jungle, but even here they were so exposed to the Spanish fire, given at random as it was, that there was no choice left but to charge upon the heights or retreat. The first cavalry brigade (unmounted) and the first volunteer cavalry (Rough Riders) were directed to attack a well-fortified spur of the San Juan ridge, later called Kettle Hill, nearest to the San Juan River. The charge was made with great spirit and the position secured.

Shortly after this, at about one o'clock, General Kent's division on the left swept up the slope past Kettle Hill and led by General H. S. Hawkins, and assisted by the fire of Gatling guns, reached the summit of San Juan Hill. By this time the Spaniards were running out of their entrenchments and retreating toward the city; Hawkins and his men thereupon had the honor of securing possession of the San Juan block-house. Shortly afterward the dismounted regular and volunteer cavalry, led by Colonel Roosevelt,

and including some colored troops, left their position on Kettle Hill and running across the intervening valley, charged up the slope of San Juan ridge to the right of the block-house. Here again they were successful. Meanwhile, on the extreme left Colonel E. P. Pearson's brigade had also gained the summit of the ridge. Thus at about the time that Lawton was occupying El Caney, the entire San Juan ridge was in the hands of our forces. The Spanish firing was much more deadly than had been anticipated, and the positions more strongly fortified; and, owing to the absence of Lawton at El Caney the Spanish retreat did not partake of the nature of a rout, nor were their inner positions menaced. The American army was victorious, but Santiago had not fallen.

The troops were almost exhausted by the severe work of the day. The heat had been intense; some of the men had cast aside all encumbrances, even their rations, and as a consequence had been fourteen hours without food. Yet along the summit of San Juan ridge, in spite of protests from regimental commanders, imperative commands were given to entrench their forces during the night; and at El Caney the tired troops of Lawton and Bates were directed to advance by a circuitous march to the firing line of San Juan. There was little rest for any one that night.

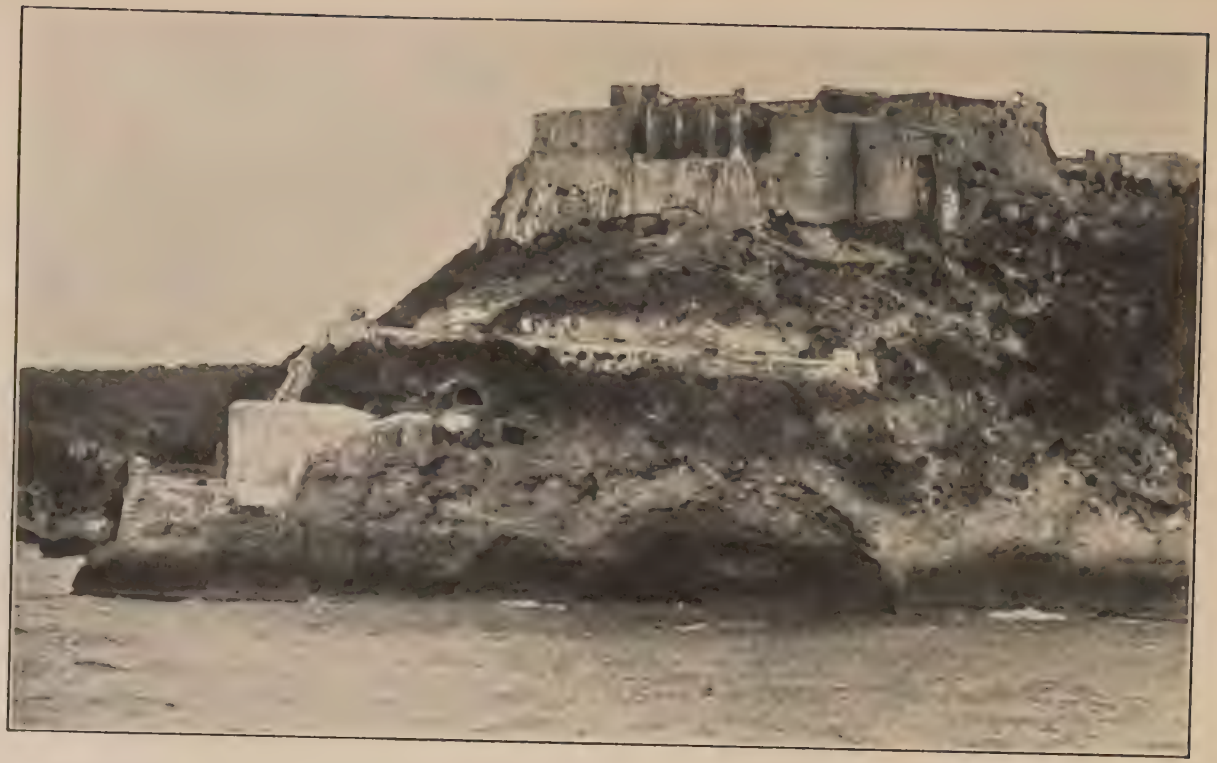
On the following day, July 2d, the Spaniards opened fire upon San Juan ridge from their second line of entrenchments, and even made an assault upon the extreme left of the American line, held by Bates and Pearson; but this attack was readily repulsed. Heavy rains fell during this day, flooding the trenches the men had digged, and making the road to Siboney, along which all supplies and reinforcements must come, impassable for any means of transportation except pack-trains. The next day the Spanish fire was renewed, but in so desultory a manner that Shafter believed the enemy had expended all his energy in the assault of July 2d. In the three days' battle, July 1st to 3d, the losses of Shafter's army were 225 killed, 1,384 wounded,

and 79 missing. On July 1st, about 12,000 men were on the firing line; on the succeeding days the number probably was greater.

But Shafter's position, gained at such a sacrifice did not appear to him tenable. With his present forces he could not take Santiago by storm, and if the rains continued it seemed impossible to keep the troops in the trenches and maintain the siege. He wrote to the department at Washington that he seriously considered retiring five miles to the rear to higher ground near Siboney. To Sampson he wrote urging the admiral to force the entrance to the harbor, remarking that his own losses had been heavy and adding, "You can now operate with less loss of life than I can." And yet, while writing in this tone to Alger and Sampson, Shafter gave no hint to the enemy of his own weakness. Indeed, with characteristic boldness, on July 3d, at 8.30 A. M., before Cervera's fleet had left the harbor, he sent a flag of truce to Santiago, demanding its surrender, in the interests of the non-combatants who would be injured by a bombardment. The demand for capitulation was refused, but Shafter, upon the request of the foreign consuls in the city, promised to delay two days before firing upon the city.

Late in the evening of the same day, Shafter telegraphed, "I shall hold my present position." This determination was reached not only because of the consciousness of the strength of his position and the weakening of the Spanish defence, but also because Cervera's fleet had been destroyed that day by the fleet.

After Admiral Sampson arrived off Santiago on June 1st, general orders were issued for the enforcement of the blockade and the establishment of an order of battle in case the enemy should attempt to leave the harbor. The position of each vessel was assigned, the distances from the harbor-mouth during the day and night were fixed, and each night the vessels by turn kept a search-light trained upon the entrance. Schley had bombarded the harbor on May 30th; and on June 6th and 16th Sampson directed similar attacks,



The Morro, at the entrance to Santiago harbor.

but with little result in any case. On the 10th a small band of marines was landed at Guantanamo, and shortly afterward a coaling station for the fleet was established at that point. On July 1st and 2d the navy shelled the coast forts during the military advance upon Santiago. Before this, on the 3d of June, an attempt was made to block the narrow channel of Santiago by sinking the collier *Merrimac* at the narrowest point. Assistant Naval Constructor Richmond P. Hobson and seven volunteer seamen took the vessel into the harbor under the fire of the Spanish forts and ships. Although executed with a courage and audacity deserving of complete success, the object of the enterprise was not attained; the *Merrimac,* owing to an injury to her steering gear was sunk at the side of the channel and the harbor was not closed.

On the morning of the 3d of July Sampson, on the flagship *New York* left his place in the blockading line and started for Siboney, where he expected to land and go to the front to confer with General Shafter. He had hoisted the signal, "Disregard the movements of the commander-in-chief", and was about hoisting the signal for Commodore Schley, the second in command, to assume command of the entire fleet. The latter signal, however, was not raised; for, when the *New York* had reached a point seven miles east of Santiago harbor, at about 9.35 A. M., the head of the Spanish column of ships was seen coming out of the harbor-entrance. The battle which followed, in which the *New York* took no active share, may be divided into three parts: first, the closing-in movement and the destruction of the torpedo-boat destroyers *Pluton* and *Furor;* secondly, the chase and destruction of the cruisers *Maria Teresa, Oquendo* and *Viscaya;* and thirdly, the chase of the *Cristobal Colon.*

In obedience to standing orders of the admiral, the five big ships, naming from the east, the *Indiana, Oregon, Iowa, Texas,* and *Brooklyn,* formed a semi-circle about the harbor-entrance, with the smaller boats, the *Vixen* and *Gloucester* at opposite ends of the arc nearest the shore. When the

Spanish fleet appeared, the standing order of battle was at once acted upon by the several ship commanders without waiting for or seeing any signal. They all simply closed in, and in Roosevelt's words, "It was a captain's fight." Not a vessel in the fleet noticed the signal on Schley's ship, the *Brooklyn,* nor on Sampson's, the *New York,* to "Close in." This first movement resulted in the immediate destruction of the *Furor* and *Pluton.* While the larger vessels fired a few shots at these boats, the chief credit for their destruction is due to the *Gloucester,* whose commander, Lieutenant-Commander Richard Wainwright, held his unarmored converted yacht close to the eastward of the mouth of the harbor, where he waited for the two destroyers, and by the accurate fire from his small rapid-fire guns he soon perforated their thin shells. In about half an hour the *Pluton* was in distress, and by 11.30 A. M., the *Furor* had sunk and the *Pluton* was beached.

In the meantime, the four Spanish cruisers had turned to the westward in column formation, and concentrated their fire, according to Admiral Cervera's account, upon the *Brooklyn,* which was nearest to them and whose speed they feared. This formation made the method of attack simple; each vessel had but to close in, attack and pursue. The fire from the *Brooklyn* and the four battleships soon set fire to the Spanish vessels and disabled three of them. The *Infanta Maria Teresa* was beached at 10.15 A. M., the *Oquendo* at 10.30, the *Viscaya,* burning fiercely and with ammunition exploding, turned inshore at 11.15. Only the *Colon,* protected from the American fire by the other vessels, forged ahead and with her greater speed seemed to possess a better chance of escape.

The *Brooklyn* alone varied from the simple plan of closing in upon the Spanish vessels. After running toward the four cruisers for about a mile, she refused to close in and follow them to the westward, but swung around to the eastward and away from the enemy in a circle almost a mile in diameter, joining the pursuit again after crossing the

course of the American battleships, but at double her former distance. By this manœuvre she not only lost place herself, but approached so close to the *Texas* that the latter vessel was stopped and her engines backed to avoid the collision which to her officers appeared imminent. Commodore Schley's reasons for making this "loop", as later explained before the Inquiry Board, were to avoid blanketing the fire of the battleships, and to save the fastest vessel in the fleet, —the *New York* was too far away to be considered,— from the danger of being rammed by the Spanish vessels or of being thrown out of action by their combined fire. In Schley's opinion the *Brooklyn* was saved for the long chase which might ensue and in which he believed the battleships could not take part. Such caution, it appeared later, was unnecessary, as the battle was practically decided within the first fifteen minutes.

The flight of the *Colon* was made possible when the *Brooklyn* left her position in the battle-line. The *Colon* forged ahead to the westward, through the gap made by the withdrawal of the *Brooklyn* and leading the chase, passed beyond the range of the leading American ships. Had she been able to continue at this speed she might have escaped; but her spurt could not be maintained. By 11 A. M. the *Brooklyn* and the *Oregon* were gaining upon her, the latter vessel, in the words of Admiral Sampson's report, developing an "amazing speed." At 12.50 P. M. the *Brooklyn* and *Oregon* opened fire upon her, and thirty minutes later the *Colon* was beached at Rio Torquino, forty-eight miles west of Santiago.

In the destruction of these four cruisers and two torpedo-boats, the Spanish suffered a loss of at least six hundred men killed and wounded, and practically all the uninjured members of their crews were taken prisoners. The American loss was only one man killed and one wounded, both of these being on the *Brooklyn*. Several of the American vessels were struck by the Spanish fire, but they received very slight material injury. The only explanation to be

given for such a great disparity of losses is the extremely poor marksmanship of the Spanish gunners, and the great effectiveness and rapidity of the American fire, which early drove the enemy from his guns. The reports of the Spanish commanders show what terrible havoc was accomplished by the American fire, and how easily the complicated mechanism of their ships was thrown into disorder by a well-directed attack.

As the victory of the army on July 1st and 2d led to Cervera's attempt to escape, so the naval victory of the 3d disheartened the military authorities in Santiago, and indirectly led to the surrender of the city. A controversy arose between Admiral Sampson and General Shafter during the next few days as to the duty of the navy or of the army respectively to make the next attack upon the city. From the 4th to the 10th of July active hostilities about the city were suspended, although both armies were strengthening their positions, and on the 11th the American lines were pushed around to the northwest and completely invested the city. During these days Shafter was reluctant to try another assault upon the Spanish entrenchments, and Sampson refused to take his fleet past the forts and force his way into the harbor. The attack upon Santiago was being made mainly by the intellectual arguments expressed by General Shafter in his many notes to General José Toral urging him to surrender the city. A proposition made by Toral to be permitted to evacuate the city was refused; and on the 10th and 11th some desultory firing upon the entrenchments and the city was begun by both army and navy. On the 11th General Miles arrived before Santiago, and on the following day, alarmed by the breaking out of yellow fever in the army, both he and Shafter recommended to the Washington authorities the granting of favorable terms to the Spaniards. Further conferences took place, and on the 14th General Toral agreed to surrender upon the condition that his army be transported to Spain at the expense of the United States government.

GEORGE DEWEY
Admiral, U. S. N.

WILLIAM THOMAS SAMPSON
Rear-admiral, U. S. N.

WINFIELD SCOTT SCHLEY
Rear-admiral, U. S. N.

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On the 17th the American flag was raised over the city, and an end was made of a situation which was fast becoming more intolerable for the besiegers than for the besieged. According to the terms of the capitulation about 22,000 persons within the province of Santiago were surrendered. Between August 9th and September 17th, 22,864 persons, including the priests and sisters of charity who had been with the army, and the wives and children of some of the soldiers, were transported to Spain.

General Miles, while at first agreeing that Shafter should command the Cuban expedition, had later desired to join the army despatched to Santiago; but he had been ordered by the president and secretary of war to organize a second expedition at Tampa, Charleston and other ports, for service in Cuba and Porto Rico. The intention was to unite the two expeditions at Santiago, and after the fall of that place to proceed to Porto Rico. Instead of the ten days which Miles had said would be required to prepare the second expedition, fully a month passed before he was ready, and not until July 9th did he sail from Charleston with a part of the corps. Arriving before Santiago in time to take part in the negotiations for surrender, Miles did not disembark his force, but on July 21st left Guantanamo for Porto Rico.

The expedition did not land as was first proposed on the north coast near San Juan. It was feared the enemy had knowledge of this plan, and the harbor of Guanica on the south coast was selected for the landing place. On July 25th the landing at this port was begun practically without opposition, and the American flag was raised upon the island for the first time. On the 27th the city of Ponce was taken. Thereafter additional troops arrived and elaborate preparations were made to cover the island. General John R. Brooke advanced through the eastern part of the island, General Theodore Schwan marched with little opposition around the west coast, while General Roy Stone and General James H. Wilson advanced into the interior. When

hostilities were suspended on August 12th, these forces were preparing to concentrate upon San Juan on the north coast. In the whole campaign there were only three men killed and forty wounded, while the Spanish loss was estimated at about ten times as great. In reality the army received a hearty welcome from the inhabitants, and four-fifths of the people, according to General Miles, were overjoyed at the arrival of the army. The general requested that United States flags be sent to him to be distributed among the different municipalities, and the war department forwarded to him one hundred stand of the national colors. From a military standpoint the Porto Rican campaign was insignificant, but by bringing about the conquest of the island and leading to its eventual transfer to the United States, the campaign of General Miles was fraught with great consequences both for the island and for the United States.

Meanwhile in Cuba the deadly climate and the rainy season were coming to the assistance of the Spanish. The surrender of Santiago was made not a day too soon, bringing as it did relief to the men from duty in the trenches, and making possible the occupation of more sanitary encampments. On July 13th there were said to be one hundred and fifty cases of yellow fever in the army; on the 21st there were thirty-six in the 33d Michigan regiment alone. But it was not yellow fever alone which attacked the men. Three-fourths of the privates and officers by the end of July had some of the symptoms of enteric, malarial, and typhoid fevers. Before this date, and while the serious condition of the force was unknown to the Washington authorities, arrangements to prevent the spread of yellow fever had been made. The corps was ordered to retire to the mountainous regions of the interior, to change camp every day, to avoid occupying any buildings, and to adopt all possible preventive measures. Plans for the gradual withdrawal of the army to New England were discussed as early as July 13th; and on July 26th steps were taken

for the establishment of a camp at Montauk Point, on the eastern extremity of Long Island.

Apparently the Washington authorities, while kept informed of the spread of yellow fever in the army and the preventive measures taken against it, were ignorant of the state of general debilitation which the less serious fevers had brought upon almost the entire army. Accordingly, when General Shafter on August 3d sent to Washington a letter signed by the commanders of his several divisions and brigades, protesting in most vigorous language against the further continuance of the army in Cuba, predicting that there would soon break out an appalling epidemic of yellow fever if it remained in Cuba, and proposing that his entire army be moved north between the 4th and the 10th of August, the president and the secretary of war expressed great surprise and indignation that the facts had not been earlier communicated to them and particularly that the "Round Robin" letter of the officers should be given to the correspondents of the press and published broadcast in the United States and Europe. But the letter served its purpose in arousing the government to the extremely serious situation of the army, and led to the transportation of Shafter's entire army to Montauk Point, Long Island, between the 7th and the 24th of August.

At Manila, on August 13th, the last battle of the war was fought. Admiral Dewey, after the naval battle of Manila, could not undertake land operations because he had no military force accompanying him; and yet he must prevent the insurgents entering the capital and giving it over to plunder. Immediately after the news of Dewey's victory reached the United States strenuous measures were taken to give him the military force so much needed. The first expedition for his relief left San Francisco under command of Brigadier-General Thomas M. Anderson, with three transports and about 2,500 men, and arrived at Manila on June 30th. A second expedition under Brigadier-General F. V. Greene, with three transports and 3,500 men,

left on June 15th, and arrived at Manila on July 17th. A third, commanded by Major-General Wesley Merritt and Brigadier-General Arthur MacArthur, left San Francisco June 25th to 29th and arrived with seven vessels and 4,800 men between the dates of July 25th and 31st.

When General Merritt, the commanding officer, arrived in the Philippines, he found Dewey in control of the harbor, and the insurgents almost surrounding the city of Manila with their half-disciplined forces. The American troops which had arrived previously had landed at a position south of the city which placed the insurgent trenches between themselves and the city. The American army was in an anomalous position; with a semi-hostile native army perhaps numbering twelve thousand men, separating it from its real military objective. General Merritt was loath to enter into official communications with Aguinaldo, the insurgent commander; and hence an informal personal arrangement was made between General Greene and the insurgent brigadier commander near him, by which the insurgents withdrew to one side and gave the Americans control of the roads leading along the sea-coast to the city.

When the Spaniards observed this move they opened fire upon the American trenches with both infantry and artillery during the night of July 31st; and repeated the attacks upon succeeding nights. With much difficulty the brigade of General MacArthur was landed, and the total American force brought up to about 8,500 men. General Merritt and Admiral Dewey now felt justified in giving the Spanish commander notice to withdraw his non-combatants, as the city might be attacked at any time after forty-eight hours following August 6th. The commander replying that he had no place of refuge for the wounded, and women and children, Dewey and Merritt on the 9th made a formal demand for his surrender. This was refused unless permission be given to communicate with his home government through Hong Kong, and as this was not considered advisable, preparations for an attack were made.

On August 13th, the day after the peace protocol had been signed at Washington, Dewey's fleet began the bombardment of the Spanish entrenched positions, and after an hour and a half of hot and accurate firing, stopped the firing to allow of the advance of the army. The brigades of Greene and MacArthur stormed the Spanish entrenchments from the south, the former advancing into the city across the bridges over the Pasig River, while the latter held the outlying town of Malate and the bridges, and prevented the insurgents from entering the city and giving it over to plunder. The walled town was surrendered later in the day. No sooner had the Americans entered the city and the Spanish begun to withdraw from their posts in the suburbs, than the American forces were deployed throughout the city and its environs, to hold in check the natives who were clamoring for admission. With the duties of receiving the surrender of the Spanish troops, of maintaining order and suppressing violence in a city of three hundred thousand inhabitants, of occupying the recent Spanish positions, and of keeping out the rebellious natives, the day was a crowded one for the American soldier, both officer and private. And considering all the conditions, there was remarkably little infringement upon private rights and property rights. The surrender included 13,000 prisoners, 22,000 stand of arms, and $900,000 in money.

A few hours before the battle of Manila, a peace protocol had been signed by Jules Cambon, the French ambassador acting as the representative of Spain, and Secretary of State William R. Day. As early as July 26th M. Cambon presented to President McKinley a communication from the Duke of Almodovar, Spanish minister of state, requesting to be informed upon what "basis might be established a political status in Cuba, and might be terminated a strife which would continue without reason should both governments agree upon the means of pacifying the island."

On July 30th, Secretary Day replied that the president was ready to "offer a brave adversary generous terms of

peace." The terms suggested were almost identical with those which, after some negotiation, were accepted by Spain and embodied in the protocol signed by Day and Cambon on August 12th. The president announced that the United States out of her "signal generosity" would not demand a money indemnity. The protocol comprised six articles: that Spain would relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba; that she would cede to the United States Porto Rico and all other islands in the West Indies under her authority, and an island in the Ladrones to be selected by the United States. The third article, the ambiguous nature of which caused Spain to protest, provided that, "The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines." The fourth, fifth, and sixth articles provided for the immediate evacuation by Spain of Cuba and Porto Rico, for the appointment by each government of five commissioners to meet at Paris not later than October 1st, to conclude a treaty of peace, and for the immediate cessation of hostilities upon the signing of the protocol.

Hostilities closed in Cuba and Porto Rico the day the protocol was signed; and a few days later the news of peace reached Manila from Hong Kong. The evacuation proceedings in the West Indies under the direction of American and Spanish commissioners were undertaken at once, but, owing to various delays, were not completed until after the first of the ensuing year. The situation of affairs in the Philippines engaged the attention both of Spain and the United States. Dewey was requested to give his opinion concerning the retention of the islands, and Merritt was ordered to enter into no alliances or joint occupation with Aguinaldo. The blockade of the harbor was withdrawn, and the American positions about the city were strengthened to prepare for a possible breach with the insurgents. On the part of Spain, protests were made through the French

ambassador against the occupation of Manila after the signing of the peace protocol, and against the strengthening of the American entrenchments during the suspension of hostilities.

To settle, amicably, all questions in dispute, in coöperation with Spain, President McKinley appointed as United States plenipotentiaries at Paris, William R. Day, Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, George Gray, and Whitelaw Reid. The instructions to the commissioners, dated September 16th, required them to demand of Spain the unqualified acceptance of the terms of the peace protocol. They were told that the United States had selected the island of Guam in the Ladrones; and that no claim for governmental property in the territories ceded was to be allowed to Spain, or, if such a claim were made, the commissioners should at once put forward a counter claim for indemnity for the war expenses of the United States.

But with respect to the status of the Philippines the opinions of the president appear not to have been fixed. The commissioners were told that "the presence and success of our arms at Manila imposes upon us obligations which we cannot disregard; . . . which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization." Incidentally the islands would prove of commercial value to the country. "In view of what has been said, the United States cannot accept less than the cession in full right and sovereignty of the island of Luzon."

When the Spanish and American commissioners met at Paris on October 3d, the American propositions respecting Cuba, Porto Rico and Guam were at once presented. Until the 27th of the month the formal discussion was upon these articles; the most serious difference being over Spain's demand that the Cuban and Porto Rican debts erected under Spanish rule should be assumed by the United States for the islands, and by Cuba when the United States gave up

control of that island. The proposition was refused, even when modified to the extent of including only the money borrowed for internal improvements. This was, however, an easy matter to settle, because it was one which the United States was willing to make a *sine qua non;* Spain could be told either to relinquish the debts or renew the war.

But the Philippine question was more difficult to adjust. The difficulty arose first from the lack of decision upon the part of the president and the consequent ambiguity of the commissioners' instructions; it was complicated by the conflicting advice which came to the commission; it was further increased by the doubtful status in international law of our tenure of Manila under a surrender made after the signing of the peace protocol; and augmented still further by the radical differences of opinion which appeared among the American commissioners. The Washington administration placed all its available information before the commissioners. It had been proposed to call Dewey home to advise them; and when he demurred, General Merritt, who had been in the islands only about forty days, was sent to Paris with letters from prominent inhabitants of the Philippines. John Foreman, the author of the best general work upon the Philippines in the English language, came incognito to Paris from London and talked freely about his experiences in the islands and his views concerning their future. On October 25th, the commissioners cabled their individual views to Washington, in which Davis, Frye and Reid favored taking all the Philippines; Day wanted Luzon, Mindoro and some others; while Gray expressed himself as opposed to the taking of any island or islands in the archipelago.

On the 26th and 28th the commissioners were informed that the president had reached a decision; that public sentiment in America was almost universally agreed that the people of the Philippines must be freed from Spanish domination, and that the president concurred fully in this opinion. "The acceptance of the cession of Luzon alone, leaving the

rest of the islands subject to Spanish rule, or to be the subject of future contention, can not be justified on political, commercial or humanitarian grounds. The cession must be of the whole archipelago or none. The latter is wholly inadmissible, and the former must therefore be required." The further development of American opinion and the enforcement of American demands upon the Spanish commissioners are shown in a very interesting way by the official correspondence, but in too great detail to be analyzed here. A proposal for a money payment for the Philippines appears to have been first expressed by Senator Frye in a personal letter to the president dated October 30th; and when the negotiations seemed on the point of breaking off, on November 21st, the American commissioners offered to give Spain twenty million dollars if she would cede the entire archipelago. After some delay this was accepted on the 29th, and the treaty was signed on December 10th by the Spanish and American commissioners.

The permanent provisions of the peace protocol were all embodied in the treaty. In addition to the relinquishment of Cuba and the cession of Porto Rico and Guam, Spain agreed to cede the Philippines to the United States. In the same article the United States agreed to pay Spain twenty million dollars, although this was not stated as a purchase price for the islands. Spanish ships and merchandise for ten years after the ratification of the treaty were to be admitted to the Philippine ports upon the same terms as ships and merchandise from the United States. Each power relinquished any claim for indemnity upon the other, but the United States agreed to settle the claims of its citizens against Spain. Public property in the ceded territory was relinquished by Spain, but there was to be no impairment of the property rights of municipalities, corporations, ecclesiastical bodies, or private individuals. Access to documents relating to the ceded territory, either in the insular or peninsular archives, was to be free to the parties interested. Spanish subjects, natives of the Peninsula, were given one

year to declare their allegiance to Spain; and if no such declaration were made they were to be considered citizens of their places of residence. Religious liberty was guaranteed in the islands; Spanish patents and copyrights were to be respected; and provision was made for the conduct of judicial proceedings which had been interrupted by the war. The obligations assumed by the United States respecting Cuba were to be limited to the time of the occupation of that island by the American government.

After considerable opposition to the clauses concerning the Philippines and Cuba, the treaty was agreed to by the United States Senate on February 6th, and ratified by the president on the same day. The queen regent of Spain ratified it on March 19th, and the ratifications were exchanged at Washington on April 11th, exactly one year after McKinley's message on Cuban affairs was sent to Congress.

During the war 274,717 men were enlisted in the army, and 24,123 in the navy. Of all these not a man was taken prisoner by the enemy except the eight men on the *Merrimac*. The casualties in the army were 280 men killed, and 1,464 wounded; in the navy, 18 killed and 73 wounded. In the army up to September 30, 1898, disease caused 2,485 deaths. Two Spanish fleets were destroyed without inflicting material injury upon an American vessel. Spanish armies of 22,000 men at Santiago, and of 13,000 men at Manila surrendered without the taking of a single American prisoner.

But the military and naval victories were the least of the results of the war. The greatest result was seen in the changed attitude of the American people toward foreign affairs. The provincial policy of Washington and Jefferson gave place to a new view of the position of the United States among the nations of the world. As President McKinley and his advisers gradually reached the conclusion that the entire Philippine archipelago must be taken by the United States, in the same slow manner there came into American public opinion the consciousness of wider inter-

ests and greater responsibilities. Cuba must be launched into independence; self-government given to Porto Rico; and the Philippines reduced to order and their inhabitants instructed in the rudiments of civil law and political organization. Despite the benefits which particular selfish interests might gain from the new order of things, the Spanish-American War left the United States upon a higher moral plane. For the citizens at large the intervention in Cuba and the acquisition of the Philippines meant no personal advantage; it meant simply added responsibility; and with this additional responsibility there would come one or the other of its inevitable accompaniments,—either failure and disgrace, or higher individual and higher national development. Several of the following chapters of this work will sketch what has thus far been accomplished under these new opportunities and responsibilities. The future holds the secret of that final answer which the American nation shall make to the call of destiny or Providence.

CHAPTER III

THE OCCUPATION AND RELINQUISHMENT OF CUBA

The purpose of American intervention in Cuba and the tenure of the United States upon the island were defined and limited by the terms of three official documents of first importance. The joint resolutions of April 20, 1898, recognized the Cuban people as rightfully free and independent, and empowered the president, in case Spain would not at once surrender her title to the island, to use the military and naval forces of the United States to establish such freedom and independence. But in addition to this statement of the purpose of intervention, the resolutions contained a limitation upon the anticipated American occupation of the island. The Teller amendment, the fourth of the series of resolutions, provided "that the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and the control of the Island to its people."

By the peace protocol of August 12, 1898, by the terms of which Spain relinquished "all claim of sovereignty over or title to Cuba", and agreed to evacuate the island immediately in favor of the American forces, one of the objects of intervention was obtained and peaceable occupation was provided for. The definite treaty of peace concluded at Paris on December 10th, imposed upon the United States

many obligations respecting Cuba. It first expressed these obligations in the following general form: "As the Island is, upon its evacuation by Spain, to be occupied by the United States, the United States will, so long as such occupation shall last, assume and discharge the obligations that may, under international law, result from the fact of its occupation, for the protection of life and property." In other articles of the treaty many duties were imposed upon the United States government, among which were the freeing of political prisoners, the guaranteeing the freedom of religion to the inhabitants of the island, the continuance of cases pending in the law courts, the inviolability of public records, and the protection of the lives and property of Spanish citizens. Finally, the last clause of the treaty distinctly stated that, "It is understood that any obligations assumed in this treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba are limited to the time of its occupancy thereof; but it will upon the termination of such occupancy advise any government established in the island to assume the same obligations."

These three documents, therefore, show clearly that the purpose of American intervention was to pacify the island and obtain freedom and independence for its people; that occupation came as a natural result of intervention; that the tenure of the island by the United States should continue only long enough to pacify the island; that during the American occupation many obligations to Cubans, to Spaniards, and to other foreigners would be assumed by the United States; and that before relinquishing control of the island, the United States should secure the establishment of a Cuban government which would make pacification permanent, give freedom and independence to the island, and which would continue, if possible, to respect those duties to foreigners which had been assumed by the United States. Nothing was said in these documents of interests of the United States, such as the danger from yellow fever, or from unsettled political conditions, the necessities of our

West Indian trade, and the need of coaling-stations, which were among the real causes of intervention. It would have been well if some of these undoubted interests of the United States had been expressed in the official statements respecting intervention and occupation. As it was, with the emphasis laid almost entirely upon the altruistic aims of the country, the administration was charged with bad faith and outright dishonesty by many Cubans and Americans, when, in the Platt Amendment, it later insisted upon provisions which were directly advantageous to the United States.

It will be well to notice the process by which control of Cuba was assumed and the condition of the island at the time of occupation; the facts of military government and the steps taken for the pacification of the island; the establishment of a new republican government; and the determination of the relations of this government to that of the United States.

Under the terms of the peace protocol of August 12th, the American commissioners appointed to arrange for the evacuation of Cuba were Rear-Admiral W. T. Sampson, and Major-Generals M. C. Butler and James I. Wade; the Spanish commissioner was Captain-General Ramon Blanco. The commissioners began their work shortly after the signing of the protocol, but many delays occurred in the transportation of troops and in the settlement of minor details of evacuation, some of which had to be referred to Washington and Madrid for determination. The evacuation of Porto Rico was completed by October 18th, and it was hoped that in Cuba this could be accomplished by January 1, 1899. By that date, however, only a part of the Spanish troops had been withdrawn, their places being taken by garrisons of Cuban or American forces. At Havana, at noon on January 1st, Captain-General Castellanos, under impressive ceremonies, transferred the control of the island to Major-General John R. Brooke, who, on December 13th, had been appointed by President McKinley as military governor of Cuba. The Spanish troops in Havana were placed

on transports on the same day, and within a few weeks the last of the Spanish regiments left the island.

American control of the island began under depressing political and economic conditions, whose amelioration demanded the exercise of the highest order of statesmanship and philanthropy. The condition of the industries of the country was most discouraging. The policy of destruction adopted by both parties during the insurrection had in some places worked annihilation of the means of production. General J. H. Wilson, commanding in the provinces of Santa Clara and Matanzas, reported that nearly every farmhouse and sugar-mill in the two provinces had been burned, and that growing crops, agricultural implements, poultry and domestic animals had been destroyed. The number of cattle owned in Matanzas and Santa Clara provinces before the war was 298,391 and 966,587 respectively; which at the time of American occupation had been reduced to 8,800 and 66,000. General Wilson expressed the opinion that the suffering caused by the devastation of the Palatinate and the Netherlands was equalled in Cuba. Sugar plantations in Santiago province, which were producing from one-third to one-tenth of the usual crop, had been enabled to do so only by paying tribute both to insurgents and to Spanish officers. Throughout the island the rank tropical vegetation was overrunning fields once given to the cultivation of tobacco or sugar; mining had ceased. In Havana, where commerce depended upon the prosperity of agriculture, nearly all forms of business had declined, and surviving trade was born of receiving a purely artificial stimulus, the presence of the Spanish garrison.

In spite of the period of truce from August, 1898, to January, 1899, many reconcentrados remained in the cities to live by public or private charity; others cultivated small gardens near the towns, but the product they raised did not furnish nutriment sufficient to withstand the physical debility caused by intermittent periods of starvation. The failure of the people to return to the rural districts was

Admiral Patricio Montojo.

Admiral Pascual Cervera.

due to the absence of agricultural implements and live stock, and to the danger to life and crops from the companies of bandits that roamed over the country. Upon the assumption of control by the American authorities, it was found necessary, in Havana alone, to issue daily rations to 20,000 persons. Charitable institutions, prisons and hospitals were over-crowded and practically without the needed supplies of food, clothing, and medical stores. Naked children ran the streets of towns, many adults wore clothing made from bagging and other coarse material; there were evidences of privation and suffering on every side. The death-rate in the cities was alarming.

Political confusion was added to economic and social disturbances. When it became known that the island would be relinquished by Spain, many general and local officials resigned their positions, and others neglected their duties, or, on account of the unsettled conditions, found it impossible to enforce the laws or to execute the decrees of the courts. Official boards and law courts either dissolved, or were compelled to see their powers dissipated; salaries had not been paid for months, municipal treasuries were empty and municipalities were bankrupt. Public works too had been neglected. Roads, bridges, lighthouses, custom-houses, and public buildings generally were out of repair; and not a single public school building existed in the island. The simplest sanitary rules were not observed in the towns and cities.

A natural antagonism showed itself between the Cuban patriots on one side, and the Spaniards and those who had accepted autonomy on the other, a line of demarcation which more or less clearly has continued down to the present time. There was a desire in some quarters to wreak vengeance upon resident Spaniards or those who had actively aided their cause. Another serious menace to stable conditions of society was the presence of the Cuban army, perhaps numbering 40,000 men. These men had been accustomed to guerrilla methods, some of them had been members of the

bandit companies existing before the revolution, and it was feared that they would reluctantly leave their predatory habits for the more regular life of peaceable society.

Under these circumstances, the responsibilities of the United States included in the term "pacification", could be interpreted in no narrow way. Political stability could be gained only after the establishment of industrial prosperity, and prosperity was dependent upon a reform of all the conditions affecting both capital and labor in the island. Only by taking a broad view of the situation could there be fostered those qualities of "self-conscious respect and self-reliant unity" which President McKinley thought essential to the success of the Cuban commonwealth.

On July 18, 1898, immediately after the surrender of Santiago, the president issued an order known as "General Order, No. 101", which defined the basis for military government in Cuba and Porto Rico. The order drew from the general principles of international law those rules which should govern the American army in its occupation of conquered or ceded territory. While, said the president, the political relations of the inhabitants to their former sovereign had been broken, it was the intention of the United States that the people of the island should be protected in their homes, their employments, and their personal and religious rights; and although the powers of the military occupant were absolute, supreme, and immediately operative upon the political condition of the inhabitants, yet the municipal laws respecting private rights and providing for the punishment of crimes would not be suspended, unless incompatible with the new order of things. Judges would be retained, the native constabulary, where possible, would be preserved, and the customary occupations of the people interrupted only when necessary. The public revenues of the state should belong to the military occupant; the usufruct of public real property also was his; and to him all public taxes and dues were to be paid. But private property must be respected and only confiscated for cause;

and when taken for army uses a fair valuation must be paid for it.

The terms of this order were respected during the fall of 1898, while the evacuation of the island was being completed, but the approach of this time created a need for a more definite organization of the occupying forces. Accordingly, on December 13th, a new military division was erected, called the "Division of Cuba", under the command of Major-General John R. Brooke, who was also designated military governor, a position he had already occupied for two months in Porto Rico. The several provinces of the island together with the city of Havana were erected into military districts, with a military commander in each. General Fitzhugh Lee was placed over Havana province; General William Ludlow, in the city of Havana; General George W. Davis, in Pinar del Rio; General James H. Wilson in Matanzas; General John C. Bates in Santa Clara; General L. H. Carpenter in Puerto Principe; and General Leonard Wood in Santiago. Later the number of these military districts was, by the union of several of them, reduced to four. One of the first steps taken by the military governor was the erection of four executive departments, and the appointment of Cubans as heads of these departments. Domingo Mendez Capote became secretary of state and government; Pablo Desvernine, secretary of finance; José Antonio Gonzáles Lanuza, secretary of justice and instruction; and Adolfo Saenz Yanez, secretary of agriculture, industries, commerce, and public works.

The first and most serious duty of the Brooke administration was to introduce order and stability into the economic conditions of the island. At the outset when thousands of people were starving, the war department furnished its rations to all who needed food. Supplies were landed at coast towns and carried by pack-trains into the interior; and couriers were despatched to distant places to inform the starving and destitute where food and clothing could be obtained. Medical supplies for the sick were dispensed in

the same generous manner. Up to October 1, 1899, 5,493,-500 rations were thus distributed. The authorities aimed, however, to reduce these donations as rapidly as possible to prevent a permanent weakening of the independence of the laboring classes. By April 1st, the number of recipients of public aid in the city of Havana had been cut down from 20,000 to 8,000; in the provinces of Havana and Pinar del Rio, in which 156,380 rations were distributed in July, only 28,500 had been furnished in August. Where possible, rations were given in exchange for labor; employment was furnished upon public works, and weekly wages paid.

Next to the relief of the starving, the most pressing need was the revival of industry. Land was fertile and easy to obtain; labor was abundant, and anxious to be employed; nothing was lacking but the necessary capital with which to restock the farms, to furnish implements, and to rebuild the large sugar rendering plants. But capital was not freely forthcoming. The political future of the island and the duration and extent of American control were undetermined. No assurances could be given to corporations desiring to develop the resources of the island, owing to the terms of the Foraker Amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill of March 3, 1899. It is evident that if the military authorities could grant no property, franchise, or concession, many of those public and private works which might have assisted in the development of the island and furnished employment for labor, could not be undertaken. While probably it was well for the future of the island that concessions were not granted by the American military governors, yet the withholding of such inducements to capital retarded economic reconstruction.

Similar effects upon capital were caused by the retention of the stay laws which had been passed under the Spanish authority. The decree of Captain-General Blanco, dated March 5, 1898, granting a stay of execution, was extended by General Brooke for one month from March 29, 1899; and on April 24th, executions were postponed for two more

The Morro, Havana.

years in the case of all obligations, whether secured by mortgage or otherwise, where, in order to collect the debt, a sale of real estate or its products would be necessary. This order, like the Foraker Amendment, may have been adopted for the best interests of the country, but like the latter, it temporarily discouraged the investment of capital in the island's industries.

One plan for the improvement of industrial conditions which was vetoed by General Brooke, was a proposition to loan money from the insular treasury to agriculturists or to provide them with cattle and implements. This measure was strongly recommended by General Wilson, whose department, embracing the provinces of Matanzas and Santa Clara, had been more seriously injured by the rebellion than any other part of the island. The military governor rejected the plan because it would tend to paternalism, break down the economic independence of the population, and eventually lead to civil disorder. Incidentally he showed that the financial demands under the scheme would be much greater than could be borne by the insular treasury. He proposed the erection of a land bank; but when a company of individuals desired to obtain some monopoly privileges for such an institution, the terms of the Foraker Amendment prevented the granting of their petition.

But the government of intervention did take the steps it deemed possible and lawful for the improvement of economic conditions. Arrears of taxes were cancelled; public indebtedness was removed from the municipalities and assumed by the insular government, thus diminishing the needs of local taxation; and a system of excessive insular and local taxation was superseded by more moderate rates, and by the abolition of such taxes as those on the sales of food products and on persons. Agriculturists, who had obtained bodily strength from the rations issued, and had regained their hopes, were encouraged to return to their farms. The import duty on breeding cattle and bee-hives was removed. But in spite of these measures, agriculturists were thrown

largely upon their own resources. In regions adapted to the raising of tobacco, industrial rehabilitation was comparatively easy; but in the sugar districts, the small farmer was compelled to wait, for the marketing of his cane, until after the reconstruction of the "central" sugar manufactories, which in many cases could be rebuilt only after the expenditure of large amounts of capital. By the end of the first year of occupation, the population was removed from all danger of starvation; and the problem confronting it was the production of the economic surplus which we designate prosperity.

Two measures adopted by the Havana administration tended to relieve the industrial situation. The first was the payment of a large sum to the Cuban army upon its disbandment. From the unexpended balance of the appropriation under the National Defence Act of March 9, 1898, President McKinley allotted $3,000,000 for distribution as a bonus among the Cuban soldiers, and to aid them in returning to peaceable vocations. The aid of General Maximo Gomez was obtained to the plan, and it was proposed to give one hundred dollars to each man. Later, when the lists were obtained from the Cuban army assembly, a body organized under the semi-republican constitution of 1895, they were found to contain a total of 48,000 names. This was pruned down to 40,000, to each of whom a grant of seventy-five dollars was allowed. At the time of distribution, not all of the persons named on the lists appeared to claim their shares, and a balance of almost half a million dollars was returned to Washington. The distribution of this money, small as each man's share was, gave the means for the purchase of some of the needed agricultural implements, and proved beneficial to the industrial class; and, as the soldiers were required to surrender their rifles, the plan resulted in a voluntary disarmament of the Cuban forces. Thus the menace of a large Cuban army was overcome at the same time that an impetus was given to agriculture.

The employment of laborers upon public works also served to relieve the destitute. During the first year of occupation the sum of $3,035,404 was appropriated for sanitation, of which Havana received about two-thirds; other public works were granted $582,469; and over two million dollars were given for barracks, hospitals and charities, much of which went into construction and repair work and thus increased the demand for labor. The most important public works were of a sanitary nature conducted under the direction of the military authorities. The term sanitation was used in a broad sense to include water-systems, street cleaning and repairs, sewer-systems, and plans for the abatement of nuisances of all kinds. In this work of sanitary engineering General Leonard Wood at Santiago earned a reputation for thoroughness and energy; but other departmental commanders were quite as vigorous, and soon the Cuban ports were in a better sanitary condition than ever before. Roads and bridges were repaired, harbors improved, lighthouses erected, and public buildings cleansed and put in habitable condition.

During the first year of occupation the military authorities also attempted to revive and reconstruct the organs of political activity whose functions had been interrupted by the period of civil war. As already mentioned, the many executive departments under the Spanish rule were united into four great departments, with a Cuban at the head of each. The military governor appointed Cubans as civil governors for the six provinces of the island; and where the mayoralty became vacant in any of the one hundred and twenty-eight municipalities, he appointed *alcaldes* to the positions. Without resort to elections, the other municipal offices and councils were filled, as in the Spanish days, by appointment at the hands of the governor in Havana. Duties were gradually imposed upon the municipal and provincial authorities, sources of revenue were opened to them, advances of money made, and American ideals in sanitation, education, and departmental methods presented to them.

The reorganization of the insular courts, including for the first time a supreme court, was another important measure adopted during the administration of General Brooke; but it did not, however, bring about a general revision of the cumbrous Spanish legal methods. Prisoners confined without just cause were released as fast as their cases could be investigated, and in the first seven months two hundred and five persons were set free. An order of May 31, 1899, provided that in the future only civil marriages should be valid; but so much opposition was aroused against this rule, that General Wood, early in his administration, was compelled to modify it by declaring either civil or ecclesiastical marriages legal. A rural and municipal police force was organized, frequently employing former Cuban soldiers, and numbering over 5,000 men.

In November, 1899, Mr. Alexis E. Frye was appointed superintendent of instruction for the island, and a month later a comprehensive order provided for a board of education in each municipality, and granted fifty dollars for equipping each school-room. The order required compulsory school attendance of children between the ages of six and fourteen years, wherever schools were accessible; it fixed the salaries of teachers, and determined the duties of the superintendent.

President McKinley, in August, 1899, directed the war department to take a census of the island, as a basis for the future organization of government. The work, carried on by Cuban supervisors and enumerators, was begun on October 16th, and completed by November 30th. It showed a total population of 1,572,797 persons, or about 39 to the square mile. Native whites made up 57.8 per cent of the total population; foreign whites, 9 per cent; negroes and mixed elements, 32 per cent, or less than one-third. Thirty-two per cent of the population resided in the sixteen cities having a population of 8,000 or over. Havana had a population of 235,981. While thirty-four per cent of the population could read and write, only a fraction over one per

cent had received any education above the elementary schools. During the year preceding October 16, 1899, the school attendance had been 86,640, or 15.7 per cent of all children between the ages of five and seventeen years.

Major-General Leonard Wood succeeded as military governor upon the retirement of General Brooke, in December, 1899. At that date the island had been pacified, the old governmental machinery had been restored, sanitary conditions had been vastly improved, and, in a measure, agriculture and commerce had been revived. The days of prosperity seemed close at hand. General Brooke's task of establishing order had been completed in a general way; but the details had to be determined by his successor. General Brooke was assisted also by the first spontaneous feeling of gratitude toward the United States which showed itself in the Cuban heart. To General Wood there fell the lot of working out in detail the problems of administration, of establishing local self-government, and of placing before the Cuban people the ultimatum of the United States respecting the mutual relations of the two countries. That he did not become so popular in the island as the first military governor is not surprising. Actions of the military authorities which were accepted without question in 1899, aroused strong opposition in the two following years, when the Cubans were getting a taste of local self-government. And, aside from Wood's reputed arbitrary attitude, no man could hope to represent adequately the Washington point of view during this time and keep the good will of the Cuban people. But worst of all, the hoped-for material prosperity did not arrive in its full measure. Sanitation, compulsory education, and police organization furnished the conditions under which industry would flourish, and indirectly they encouraged the investment of capital in the island, but they did not bring that immediate relief, particularly to the sugar industry, which had been expected. For all of these reasons the administration of Wood roused less popular sympathy in Cuba than did that of General Brooke.

Before discussing the work of the constitutional convention and the determination of Cuba's relations to the United States, which rank foremost among the features of General Wood's administration, a rapid survey will be taken of the administrative measures adopted under his authority between December 20, 1899, and May 20, 1902. One of the most remarkable results of this period is the success obtained in the study of the disease of yellow fever. General Wood's previous training as an army surgeon accounted in part for his strong and intelligent interest in the problem of sanitation. When pure water, clean streets and proper drainage were considered the best weapons for use against the fever, General Wood in Santiago had striven energetically to obtain them; and as military governor he was enthusiastic for the extension of similar plans to all the municipalities. The garrison towns, under his direction, were made cleaner than American towns of similar size.

But during his administration it was found that the usual sanitary regulations have little effect in preventing the spread of yellow fever. To General Wood belongs part of the credit for one of the most remarkable medical discoveries of recent years; for it was through his scientific interest and generous aid that Surgeon-Major Walter Reed and his associates were enabled to continue their investigations into the cause of the spread of the disease. In the experimental station at Quemados, situated close to a fever-infected district, it was proved that the chief means, perhaps the exclusive one, in the propagation of the fever is the bite of a certain species of mosquito which has previously fed upon the blood of a person afflicted with the fever. In Havana, the simple preventive measures taken by Major Reed and his assistants, acting upon the new theory of the disease, resulted, for the first time in one hundred and forty years, in an absolutely clean bill of health from yellow fever. The disease fell from being one of the leading causes of death, to being one of the most infrequent; and, as early as 1901, it was estimated that in Havana alone thirty-seven hundred

lives were saved annually. This discovery contributed more to the checking of the disease throughout the Gulf cities and in the West Indies than the millions of dollars which had been expended upon elaborate schemes of sanitation in the Cuban ports.

In February, 1900, General Wood and his advisers decided that the island was ready for local self-government, and for popular elections in the choice of municipal officers, all of whom previously had been appointed by the military governor or his subordinates. A preliminary step was taken on February 16th, by the appointment of a commission to draft a municipal election law. On April 18th, the plan of the minority of this commission was promulgated by the military governor as the basis for the first municipal elections, to be held in each municipality on June 16, 1900. This order conferred the suffrage upon all native male Cubans and upon Spaniards who had not made declaration of their intention to retain their Spanish citizenship, who were twenty-one years of age, who had resided in the municipality for thirty days, and who possessed one of the following qualifications: ability to read and write, or ownership of real or personal property to the value of $250 in American gold, or service in the Cuban army prior to July 18, 1898, and honorable discharge therefrom. Provision was made for boards of registration in each municipality, for the nomination of candidates by petition, for an official ballot on the Australian plan, and for other details of election machinery. The officers to be elected were mayors, members of the municipal councils, municipal treasurers, judges, and correctional judges.

The elections were held without disturbance on the day appointed, and, owing to the negative attitude of conservative citizens, they resulted in the complete success of the revolutionary or radical party. The vote cast in all the municipalities was 110,816; showing that about one-fourteenth of the population participated in the election. General Wood was much chagrined at this electoral outcome,

which he believed added largely to the difficulties of the Havana authorities. The new officials possessed little or no experience in such positions, and as they hoped to benefit their friends by the appointment of an abnormally large number of clerks, policemen and other officers, they frequently lost the respect of the business classes, and by their ignorant appointees entailed much labor of supervision and inspection upon the insular authorities. "Supervision, watchfulness, and constant untangling", to use General Wood's own words, alone saved the municipalities from serious confusion.

While these steps were taken toward the political independence of the municipalities, the authorities were also trying to make them financially independent. This was rendered difficult by the aid previously given to them for education, sanitation, or police purposes, and for public works, and by the assumption of the earlier municipal debts by the insular government. Under such circumstances, with the evidences of Spanish municipal corruption on every hand, and with but scanty sources of local taxation, the progress toward municipal self-support was slow and unsatisfactory. The support of the municipal police by the insular treasury was gradually withdrawn, and the municipalities were encouraged to undertake the purchase or erection of schoolhouses and minor public works. Yet in the last year of American occupation, one-third of the cities showed deficits in their accounts, which were incurred not in the support of schools, roads and other works of public safety or convenience, but mainly in the payment of salaries to municipal officials.

Near the close of his administration, General Brooke promulgated a school law and appointed a superintendent of schools; but the effect of these measures had been scarcely felt when General Wood assumed control. Early in 1900, however, the school system was organized and equipped. At a cost of three-quarters of a million dollars, modern textbooks and supplies, together with one hundred thousand

General view of Havana.

desks and chairs, were purchased. During the period from January to June, 1900, the number of schools was increased from 635 to 3,313; and at the latter date there was an enrollment of 143,000 pupils. By December, 1901, the school system included 3,600 teachers and 180,000 enrolled pupils, with an average attendance of 140,000 scholars. Barracks and other public buildings were surrendered by the general and municipal governments and remodelled for school purposes. On June 30 and August 9, 1900, new school laws, modelled after those of Ohio, were issued, bringing greater regularity into the system and providing for closer inspection and control of the schools by the central authorities. In the summer of 1901, four thousand teachers and applicants for teachers' positions attended teachers' institutes held during the vacation; and one hundred teachers were sent north to the Harvard University summer school. By these educational reform measures the number of schools in the island had increased fourfold, and the number of pupils twofold; municipal school buildings had been obtained in many towns and proper equipment installed in them; and, what was more valuable than any other single result, a body of teachers familiar with modern methods and ideals had been prepared and trained for the work of public instruction.

The educational measures also included a thorough reconstruction of the curriculum and teaching force of the University of Havana. This institution had experienced a decline in the number of its students from 950 in 1894 to about 200 in 1900; and at the latter date there were ninety-six professors and assistant professors, many of whom, ill-fitted for their positions, regarded them as sinecures for life. The faculty was reorganized by requiring most of the incumbents to prove by examination their ability to perform their duties.

In February, 1900, the reorganization of the police force of the island was begun. The expense of maintaining the municipal police was imposed upon the municipalities, but

the insular government assumed the control and support of the rural guards which already existed in some parts of the island. General Wood encouraged their employment in the place of the municipal police, and at the close of the year nearly twelve hundred men and officers had been incorporated into the organization.

Other important features of General Wood's administration were the changes in the legal codes of the island, without, however, the adoption of a complete and systematic revision of the Spanish laws; the establishment of a new and more logical tariff upon imports in the place of the temporary tariff erected by order of President McKinley on December 13, 1898; the abolition of one-third of the municipal governments of the island because of their uselessness and expense; and the delivery of many prisoners from jail. Unfortunately for the honor of American officials there was discovered in the Havana post-office, in 1900, an extensive conspiracy among American officers to systematically defraud the insular post-office.

In July, 1900, President McKinley, the secretary of war, Elihu Root, and General Wood conferred concerning the Cuban situation, with the result that it was agreed that the time had arrived for taking preliminary steps toward the establishment of self-government in Cuba. The plan determined upon was the calling of a representative convention in Cuba, elected according to regulations prescribed by the military governor, and possessing the power of drafting and adopting a constitution, of agreeing to a determination of the relations between the United States and Cuba which should be included in the constitution, and of providing a general election law fixing the procedure to be used in the first election under the constitution.

These features of the plan, as well as other details, were contained in two orders issued by the military governor on July 25 and August 11, 1900. The first order recited the terms of the joint resolutions of April 20, 1898, relating to the independence of the Cuban people and the intention of

the United States to leave the government of the island to its people. It then affirmed that "the people of Cuba have established municipal governments, deriving their authority from the suffrages of the people given under just and equal laws, and are now ready, in like manner, to proceed to the establishment of a general government which shall assume and exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, and control over the island." Directions were given that a general election should be held on Saturday, September 15, 1900, for the choice of delegates to the convention; and that the thirty-one members of the body should be divided among the six provinces according to their respective population. The suffrage provisions and general regulations of the municipal election law were extended to this election by the order of August 11th; with the addition of an article permitting minority representation among the delegates to the constitutional convention.

Fearing an indifference similar to that which had been shown in the municipal elections three months earlier, General Wood visited the principal cities of the island and urged upon prominent men of all parties the wisdom of participating in the election. But dissatisfaction had been aroused by the requirement that the relations of Cuba to the United States should be agreed upon by the convention and the determination reached should be inserted in the constitution "as a part thereof." The opponents of the administration held that this was a matter not to be inserted in the constitution, but to be settled by the government under the constitution by negotiations on equal terms with the United States. This objection, together with the continued reluctance of the conservative classes to engage in political life and the abstention from voting of those favoring annexation to the United States, led to another victory for the extreme radicals. General Wood described the contest as "entirely one-sided, the vote cast being comparatively small, the conservative element displaying practically no activity or interest in the campaign."

The convention, upon assembling on November 5th, was opened by General Wood, who in an address, later published as an administrative order, directed attention to the two duties of the body. "It will be your duty, first, to frame and adopt a constitution for Cuba, and when that has been done, to formulate what, in your opinion, ought to be the relations between Cuba and the United States." The constitution, he said, "must be adequate to secure a stable, orderly, and free government." The formulation of relations would be submitted to the United States government, which "will doubtless take such action on its part as shall lead to a final and authoritative agreement between the people of the two countries to the promotion of their common interests." It is noteworthy that, while the order of July 25th had enjoined the insertion in the constitution of the agreement concerning relations, the opening address seemed to permit the separation of the two subjects. It is significant also that both the original order and the governor's address gave to Cuba the initiative in the matter of relations, an authorization which had better not have been given in view of the later restriction of the powers of the convention in this respect.

Immediately after electing Domingo Méndez Capote as president, and perfecting its organization, the convention proceeded to frame a constitution. During November and December, 1900, and until January 21, 1901, the work was performed mainly in committees and in occasional secret sessions of the convention. Public meetings to discuss the printed draft were held for about a month after the latter date, and on February 21st, the engrossed copy was signed by the members. The discussions appear to have centred about the clauses providing for the separation of church and state, for the establishment of universal suffrage, for the popular election of senators, for the qualifications of president, and for the separation of governmental powers between the insular government and the governments of the provinces and municipalities.

Street in San Juan, Porto Rico.

The constitution, as adopted, naturally included many features drawn from American precedents; others came from Spanish and Cuban experience and from the provisions of the inoperative autonomist constitution of 1898. By the first article it was declared that the people of Cuba constitute "a sovereign and independent State and adopt a republican form of government." Seven articles defined the term "The Cuban People", and treated of naturalization and the rights of aliens, with an amount of detail probably called forth by the presence of large numbers of American citizens in Cuba and by the fact that many Spaniards had taken advantage of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris and had made declaration of their intention to retain their Spanish citizenship. The bill of rights, including thirty-one articles, is drawn from many sources. Restrictions upon the power of arrest come from the Cuban experience in the last years of Spanish rule; the rights of petition, of assembly, of religious freedom, and the principle of the separation of church and state, were derived from American precedents; while other rights come from Spanish or the civil law. "Primary education is compulsory and shall be gratuitous, as also that of arts and trades"; equally democratic was the article extending the suffrage to all male Cubans over twenty-one years of age.

In organizing the government, the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial functions was in the main adhered to. The upper house was composed of four members from each of the six provinces, elected for eight years by a process of indirect election, with the terms of one-half of the members expiring each four years. The lower house was composed of members elected by direct vote for a term of four years and representing districts having a population of 25,000 persons. One-half of the members were elected every two years. The president of the republic was chosen for four years by an electoral college organized almost exactly like that of the United States. His cabinet should be freely appointed or removed by himself alone, but no act

of the president could be legal without the countersignature of a cabinet minister who was legally, but not politically, responsible therefor. Provision was made for a supreme court, and for the recognition of the provincial and municipal governments already in existence.

Before the work of drafting the constitution was completed, President McKinley, without waiting for that expression of opinion which the convention had been directed to present, sent to General Wood through the war department "in a more official form" than previously made known, the views of the administration respecting the future relations of Cuba to the United States. It was admitted that Congress might not accept the positions stated, and no definite instructions were given to General Wood to convey the president's views to the convention; but the whole tone of the letter implied that the Washington administration wished its opinions presented to the convention and accepted by it. Secretary Root's letter of February 9, 1901, contained five provisions, which, it was said, "the people of Cuba should desire to have incorporated in her fundamental law." All five provisions, together with three new ones, were later incorporated into the Platt Amendment.

The wishes of the president were communicated by General Wood to the convention's committee on relations on February 15, 1901. On February 27th, the convention by accepting a report of this committee, rejected four of the proposals, and simply retained the provision making the acts of the intervening military government valid under the new constitution. To the demand that Cuba enter into no treaty restricting her independence or granting special privileges without the consent of the United States, the counter-offer was made that no treaty should restrict her independence, nor authorize any foreign power to acquire land upon the island for colonization or naval purposes. The limitation of the debt contracting powers of the Cuban government to an amount for the payment of which provision could be made from the normal revenues, was ignored

altogether; but the promise was given that Cuba would not permit her territory to be made the base of war operations against the United States or any other power. The right of the United States to intervene in the future in Cuba to maintain a stable government and fulfil the obligations imposed by the treaty of Paris upon the United States, was rejected, with the statement that under that treaty the government of Cuba itself should assume all such obligations. The request for naval stations was also rejected; but a proposal was added that the future commercial relations of the two countries should be regulated upon principles of reciprocity and special advantages in their respective markets.

In giving its reasons for rejecting the terms proposed by the president, the committee expressed the opinion "that some of these stipulations are not acceptable, inasmuch as they modify the independence and sovereignty of Cuba. Our duty consists in making Cuba independent of all other nations, including the great and noble American nation; and if we bind ourselves to ask the consent of the United States to our international treaties, if we allow them to retain the right to intervene in our country to support or displace administrations, and to fulfill rights which only concern the Cuban Government; and if, lastly, we concede to them the right to acquire and maintain any title over any lands whereon they may establish naval stations, it is plain that we should appear to be independent of the rest of the world, but surely we should never be so with relation to the United States."

But the American government felt bound to no such strict adherence to the meaning of the term "free and independent." It was determined that the interests of the United States in Cuba should be safeguarded in advance of the establishment of the Cuban government, no matter at what expense of logic or consistency. But the president's position was weak in that up to this point he had been expressing the personal opinions of himself and the leaders of the Republican party. In Cuba and in the United States people

were denying the authority of the president to impose terms upon Cuba, and Secretary Root in his letter of February 9th, had admitted that the president's plan would be subject to review or alteration by Congress. When, therefore, within a few days of the close of the session of Congress, the rejection by the Cuban convention of the president's demands was assured, two courses of action were open to the administration. It could either seek to obtain the passage in Congress, by a vigorous cracking of the party whip, of a measure determining the relations of Cuba, or by keeping the matter in the hands of the executive without a definite legal basis, it would prolong the period of uncertainty until the next session of Congress. The latter course seemed intolerable; and the former was adopted.

On February 25, 1901, Senator O. H. Platt, of Connecticut, chairman of the Senate Committee on Relations with Cuba, introduced an amendment to the bill appropriating funds for the use of the army during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902. The Senate adopted the measure almost without debate on February 27th, by a vote of 43 to 20; the House, after a few hours' discussion, followed the lead of the Senate on March 1st, by a vote of 159 to 134; and on the following day the act was signed by the president.

By the terms of the Platt Amendment, the president was authorized to withdraw the forces of the United States from Cuba and "leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people" so soon as a government had been established in the island under a constitution which, as a part thereof or as an ordinance attached thereto, should define the future relations of the United States with Cuba according to eight distinct provisions. The first required that Cuba should never enter into any treaty with any foreign power which would impair the independence of the island, or permit any foreign power to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes any lodgment upon the island. The second provided that the government of

The Prado, Havana.

Cuba should not assume or contract any public debt beyond an amount for which adequate provision for interest and repayment could be made from the ordinary revenues of the island. In the third article the government of Cuba was required to consent to the future exercise by the United States of the right of intervention in Cuba to preserve Cuban independence and to discharge the obligations imposed upon the United States by the Treaty of Paris.

The fourth article made valid all acts of the military government during the occupation, and all lawful rights acquired under the military authorities. The fifth required the execution, and the extension as far as necessary, of the plans for the sanitation of the cities of the island, in order that Cuba and the southern ports of the United States might be freed from the danger of a recurrence of epidemic diseases. The sixth declared the Isle of Pines omitted from the constitutional boundaries of Cuba, and left its title to be determined by future treaties between Cuba and the United States. The seventh required Cuba to lease or sell to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at points agreed upon with the president, for the purpose of maintaining Cuban independence, protecting the Cuban people, and defending the American coasts from foreign attacks. Finally, to give further assurance to these provisions, the eighth article compelled Cuba to embody them in a permanent treaty with the United States.

The Platt Amendment, while evoking serious criticism of the administration in the United States, also aroused great opposition in Cuba. In the constitutional convention, it is said that but one member advocated its unqualified acceptance, and his approval was due solely to the desire to bring the military government to an early termination. The amendment was rejected at first, by an indirect vote; later a commission from the convention visited Washington, and received the administration's interpretation of the amendment. Upon the commission's return to Havana the convention accepted the conditions, but added to them a

number of explanatory clauses. In this form the agreement was not satisfactory to the president; and the alternative was given to the convention of accepting the exact terms of the Platt Amendment or by refusing to accept it, to prolong indefinitely the period of military occupation. The Cuban population by this time had reached the conclusion that the form of independence granted by the amendment was better than the continuance of military rule; and, this sentiment making itself felt in the convention, after three months of discussion in the convention and out of it, that body, on June 12, 1901, accepted without change the terms of the amendment.

After thus reluctantly agreeing to the conditions imposed by the American government, the convention, as was its right under the order calling it together, proceeded to formulate a general election law. This law, promulgated by the military governor on October 14th, provided for a general election on December 31, 1901, for all officers elected by popular vote; and for a second election on February 24, 1902, at which the president, vice-president, and senators should be chosen according to the constitution by the electoral colleges selected at the first election. The election on the last day of the year 1901 furnished the Cuban people with the first opportunity of expressing their opinion upon insular matters. The thirty-one members of the convention had made a constitution, had accepted the Platt Amendment, and had adopted an electoral law, without any participation by the people in these important affairs; neither the constitution nor the amendment was submitted to popular approval. Yet the first general election, like the two preceding municipal elections, did not bring the conservative elements into politics; and again, to Wood's chagrin, the radical party obtained an overwhelming victory. On February 24, 1902, the electoral college chose as president Tomas Estrada Palma, who for several years had represented Cuban interests in the United States and had been an influential member of the New York Cuban Junta.

The formal surrender of American authority took place on May 20, 1902, in the room of the Government Palace in Havana, where, on January 1, 1899, the Spanish governor-general had relinquished the authority of Spain over the island. General Wood read a list of the obligations to be borne by the Cuban government under the terms of the Treaty of Paris and the Platt Amendment, including certain sanitary contracts and quarantine regulations in Havana and Santiago. He then presented a letter from President Roosevelt, directing the termination of the period of American occupation, which closed with the words, "I desire to express to you the sincere friendship and good wishes of the United States, and our most earnest hopes for the stability and success of your government, for the blessings of peace, justice, prosperity, and ordered freedom among your people, and for enduring friendship between the Republic of the United States and the Republic of Cuba." The American flag floating over the Palace was then hauled down and the Cuban colors hoisted in its place. Cuban independence, as limited by the terms of the Platt Amendment, had begun.

Great care had been taken to determine the extent of Cuba's political dependence upon the United States before American control was relinquished; but up to that date nothing whatever had been accomplished toward settling the commercial relations of the two countries. One of the strongest reasons for Cuban opposition to the Platt Amendment was that the United States gained all she desired and left nothing with which Cuba could bargain for those commercial privileges in American ports which meant economic life or death to her. Cubans remembered that the period of greatest prosperity of the island had been the years 1893-1894, when under reciprocity treaties between Spain and the United States, Cuban sugar gained ready admission to the American market. American administrators in Cuba agreed with the Cubans that some concessions from the prevailing tariff rates would be necessary before the industries

of the island could be made prosperous. President McKinley had urged a reciprocal tariff agreement in his last speech at Buffalo on September 5, 1901; Secretary Root, in his report dated November 27, 1901, said that "the same considerations which led to the war with Spain now require that a commercial arrangement be made under which Cuba can live"; and President Roosevelt in his first message to Congress supported the same policy.

The administration hoped that Congress would adopt the same view of our duty to Cuba; but the influence of the American cane-sugar, beet-sugar, and tobacco interests, and of the stalwart tariff men in Congress was too strong to be overcome. In spite of a special message dealing with the subject sent by President Roosevelt on June 13, 1902, the houses adjourned the long session with an extremely moderate measure accepted by the House, but not acted upon by the Senate.

Steps were taken by the president to secure a reciprocity treaty with Cuba, modelled upon the provisions of the House measure of this session. On December 11, 1902, a treaty was signed which provided that Cuba and the United States would grant one another reciprocal reductions in tariff duties; the United States agreeing to a flat reduction of twenty per cent from the established duties on all Cuban products; and Cuba promising to permit the introduction of imports from the United States at rates varying from twenty per cent reduction upon all unnamed articles, to twenty-five per cent on machinery and products of iron and steel, to thirty per cent on food products and cotton manufactures, and to forty per cent for woolen and silk manufactures, rice, and cattle. This treaty was ratified by the Senate on March 19th, and by the president on March 30, 1903. It contained, however, a clause which prevented the operation of its provisions until they had been adopted by Congress. The last session of the Fifty-seventh Congress closed on March 3, 1903, with no action upon the matter. In the fall of 1903, President Roosevelt called a special

session of the Fifty-eighth Congress, which opened on November 9th. At this session, or, rather, at the regular session which followed immediately upon it, the provisions of the treaty of December 11, 1902, were embodied in an act which received the president's signature on December 17, 1903. It granted the meagre twenty per cent reduction in the duties upon imports from Cuba in consideration of the reduction made by Cuba in her duties upon American products.

By an agreement made in 1903 between the president of the United States and the government of Cuba, the harbors of Guantanamo on the southeast coast of Cuba, and of Bahia Honda on the northwest coast, were selected by the president as coaling stations under the terms of the Platt Amendment. The permanent treaty embodying the terms of the Platt Amendment was signed at Havana, May 22, 1903, and ratified by the Senate on March 22d, and by the president on June 25, 1904. The final status of the Isle of Pines has not at the time of the writing of this, been determined; but the island is being governed temporarily by the Cuban authorities.

While these pages are going through the press, a second intervention in Cuba by the United States has become necessary. The ultimate cause of the uprising in August, 1906, appears to have been the failure of the Palma administration to win the confidence of the great body of the Cuban people; the immediate cause lay in registration frauds perpetrated by the politicians surrounding Palma. The government, unable to crush the rebels who, on August 17, 1906, inaugurated a new revolt in the rich province of Pinar del Rio, asked for American protection, and on September 13th, at the suggestion of Mr. Jacob Sleeper, the American chargé d'affaires, about a hundred American marines were landed in Havana. The following day, under orders from the home government, these troops were withdrawn, but President Roosevelt was determined to investigate the conditions in Cuba, and accordingly, on September 19th, Secretary of War

Taft and Assistant Secretary of State Bacon landed at Havana. Promptly securing an armistice, the American commissioners then proposed certain conciliatory measures to President Palma, including the retirement of Palma's advisers and the holding of new congressional elections. These and other proposals Palma rejected, but insisted on calling Congress together on September 28th and presenting his resignation to it. Congress having failed to induce Palma to withdraw his resignation and being unable or unwilling to elect a new president, Secretary Taft on the following day, in the name of President Roosevelt, proclaimed the Cuban administration at an end, and the intention of the United States to occupy the island for the purpose of restoring order and protecting life and property. He expressly stated, moreover, that such occupation should continue only long enough for the establishment of tranquillity and public confidence, and for the holding of such elections as should be necessary to determine the persons upon whom the permanent government of the Cuban Republic should be devolved.

The rebels having agreed to surrender their arms to the American authorities, several thousand marines and about six thousand regular troops were landed under the command of Brigadier-General Frederick Funston. The Cuban flag has not been lowered, and Cuban officials, except President Palma and his Cabinet, still administer the affairs of the island. On October 13th Secretary Taft was succeeded as acting provisional governor by Charles E. Magoon, who resigned the governorship of the Panama Canal Zone to represent the United States in Cuba.

The term of American intervention is indefinite, but it appears to be settled that the United States must police the island until after the harvesting of the present sugar and tobacco crops; a policy which, if adhered to, will put off American withdrawal until the summer or fall of 1907.

CHAPTER IV

PORTO RICO UNDER SPANISH RULE

Porto Rico, the smallest and most salubrious of the Greater Antilles, lies eastward of Santo Domingo at nearly equal distances from New York and from Panama. Possessing an area of about three thousand square miles, it is nearly three times the size of Long Island. The original inhabitants, who called the island Boriquén, have long since disappeared as a distinct race; but traces of the Indians' physical traits linger among the mixed population of the interior highlands.

Much diversity of opinion exists among archæologists concerning the affinities of these aborigines to the races of North and South America, and to the inhabitants of the other West Indian islands. It is unsettled whether the Boriquénos came originally from one of the Florida tribes, or from the races inhabiting the northern coast of South America; and the same doubt exists as to the relationship of the natives of Porto Rico to the Caribs, the inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles. No architectural works of these people are extant; but in addition to the common implements of the polished stone age, the most remarkable remains are clay and carved stone idols and strange polished "stone-collars." The latter resemble a horse-collar in shape; they are carved from stone, sometimes from hard granite, and measure from a foot and a half to two feet in length, and from fifteen to seventeen inches in breadth. With only

stone and wooden implements the task of making the collars must have been infinitely tedious, but no adequate explanation has been given of the religious or social motives which called forth this amount of labor.

There is little doubt that the inhabitants of the Greater Antilles were less warlike than the natives of the smaller islands; but whether this was due to a difference in race, as some writers affirm, or simply to difference in economic condition, has not been determined. The Boriquénos are described as good-natured, hospitable, and indolent; and the inhabitants of all the four larger islands,—Cuba, Santo Domingo, Jamaica, and Porto Rico,—were easily conquered by the Spaniards. The number of inhabitants of Porto Rico at the time of its discovery is a matter of conjecture, the estimates varying from 16,000 to 600,000; and in the absence of definite records there seems no hope of arriving at the true figure, which, however, must have been nearer the smaller than the larger estimate.

Columbus, on his second expedition, which was fitted out at great expense and comprised seventeen ships and fifteen hundred persons, sighted the island of Porto Rico for the first time on November 17, 1493. On the 19th a landing was made upon the west coast, where the admiral took possession in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, and named the island San Juan Bautista, after John the Baptist. For fifteen years after this Porto Rico was neglected by the Spaniards, whose vessels occasionally stopped for water at points along the coast, but who made no attempt to explore or settle the island.

The Spanish occupation began by the despatching of an expedition from Santo Domingo under Juan Ponce de Leon, the leader who later became famous for his attempts to conquer Florida. In 1508 this expedition began the search for gold in the island, and through the friendship of the natives, it met with such success in the discovery of gold-bearing streams, that, in the following year a permanent settlement was established on the north coast. From Caparra, the

Leonard Wood, major-general, U. S. A. *From the painting by John Singer Sargent, exhibited in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.*

original settlement was later moved to a site a few miles away, and its name was changed to Puerto Rico; and then, by one of those strange and obscure accidents of nomenclature which take place unconsciously, the island came to be called by the name of the town, and the town received the island's name of San Juan.

Gold-hunger, that curse of the individual and of society, was the cause of Ponce's first expedition, and for twenty years it was the dominating power in the history of the colony. Not only were the settlers and their leaders interested in the gold mines, but the king also encouraged the search for the precious metal, and in a letter to Ponce in 1509, he writes, "Be very diligent in searching for gold mines in the island of San Juan; take out as much as possible, and after smelting it in la Española [Santo Domingo], send it immediately." Mr. R. A. van Middeldyk, the author of the only complete history of the island, says, "The curious medley of religious zeal, philanthropy, and gold-hunger, communicated to the first governors under the title of 'instructions' did not long keep them in doubt as to which of the three—the observance of religious practices, the kind treatment of the natives, or the remittance of gold—was most essential to secure the king's favor. It was not secret that the monarch, in his *private* instructions, went straight to the point and wasted no words on religious or humanitarian considerations."

In carrying out these plans for the production of gold, a system of enslavement of the natives and apportionment of them among the Spaniards, already introduced into Santo Domingo by Columbus, was adopted by Ponce in Porto Rico. Legally there were two forms of such servitude,—one called *repartimento,* in which the grantee received land with the right to the labor of the Indians resident upon it, and the other called *encomienda,* in which the Indians were given outright to the settler,—but there was little difference in practice between the two. The first division made in 1509-1510 resulted in the distribution of 1,060 natives, of

whom Ponce himself took two hundred. The exploitation of the natives and their gold-bearing streams received a temporary setback in 1511 by the outbreak of a widespread revolt of the Indians, in which many of the Spaniards without the forts were killed. The suppression of the revolt, although accompanied with difficulty, led to the reduction of almost all the inhabitants to slavery.

But slavery, under the hardships and severities of Spanish gold-washeries, meant death to the individual, and the depopulation of the island. Lack of food, unusual and hitherto unknown diseases, and the cruelties of inhuman task-masters soon killed off thousands of the population. In the contest between Ponce and Diego Columbus, in which the latter, under the titles and powers granted to his father, the discoverer, claimed authority over Porto Rico, the entire Indian population was several times redistributed among the friends of the several claimants. In 1515 a final division took place which showed only 5,500 Indians upon the island. In spite of the philanthropy of the monk Las Casas, who interceded with the king for the natives, and of increasing beneficence of the laws sent over from Spain, the decline of the natives continued with great rapidity. In 1543 it was reported that there were only eighty natives on the island; in 1582 only twelve or fifteen could be found.

Two results of the gold-fever were apparent at the end of twenty years. The first and most remarkable was the rapid disappearance of the native population. The second was the exhaustion of the gold washeries under the careless methods used by the Spaniards. After 1528 the remittance of gold on account of the king's one-fifth share, almost ceased, and the last was made in 1536. It is estimated that the entire output of the Porto Rican workings from 1509 to 1536 was only a little over four million dollars.

But a third result of the search for gold which has influenced the history of the island down to the present time, was caused by the demand for a new form of labor to take the place of the exterminated Indians. Negro slavery, which

may have been introduced in 1510 in the form of a few personal servants from Santo Domingo, was later definitely fostered by the Spanish authorities. As early as 1513 the deficiency of labor appears to have been felt, for in that year the importation of negro slaves was authorized. The home government, in thus permitting the introduction of slaves, was actuated by a desire to increase the output of gold; but that industry, by the exhaustion of the workings, was soon faced by a greater difficulty than a dearth of labor. The decline of the annual product of gold almost led to the complete failure of the colony; many persons left the island, particularly after the remarkable successes of Cortez and Pizarro on the continent; and the continuance of the settlement was probably due to the vigorous measures adopted by the governor. The death penalty was declared against those attempting to remove from the island; and some who were captured trying to escape were flogged and their feet cut off.

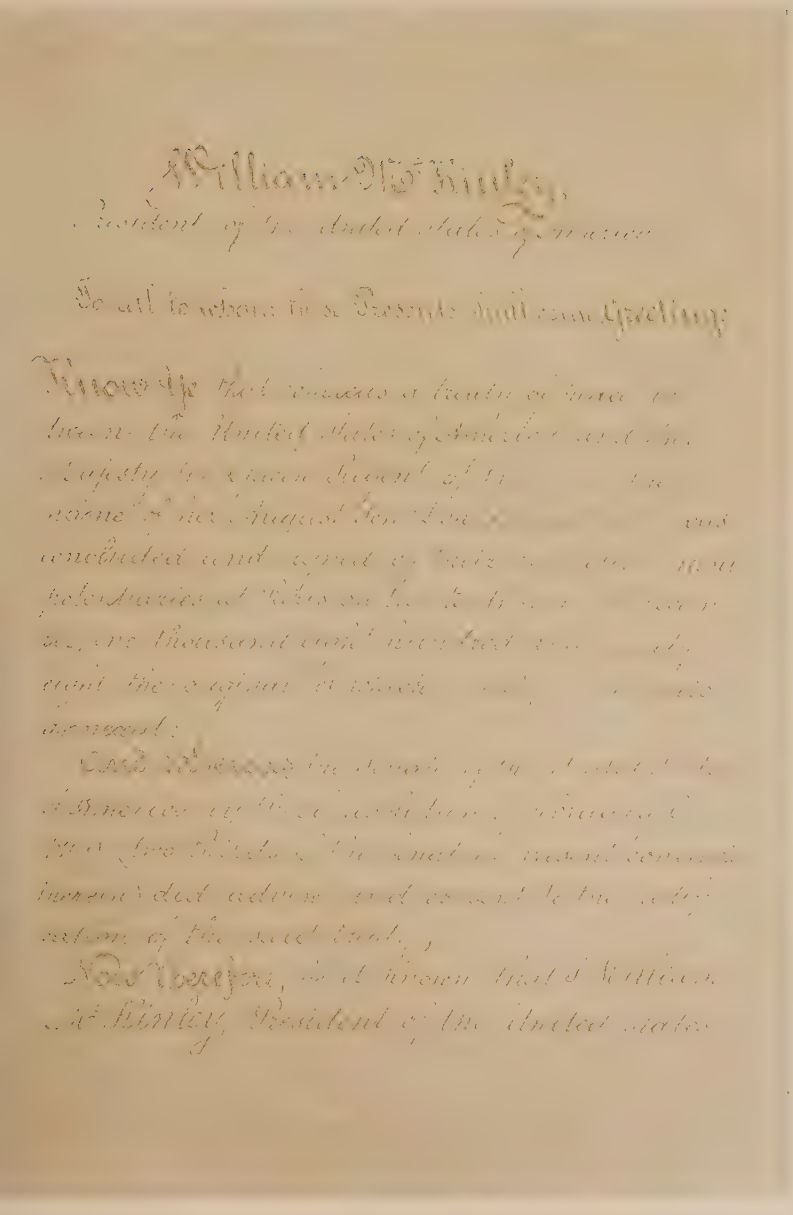
The alternative now open to the inhabitants was to engage in agriculture, and as soon as this was undertaken, the evil results of the extermination of the natives became apparent. Negro slaves became the sole laboring class, and these could be obtained only by paying high prices and taxes, or by smuggling them in at great risk. Between 1530 and 1553, Fray Iñigo Abbad, the eighteenth century historian of the island, estimates that 3,000 negroes were imported, of whom about one-half were illegally introduced by smugglers. During the sixteenth century royal orders forbidding the exportation to America of white slaves, or Moors, Jews, and mulattoes as slaves, would seem to imply that previously the slave traffic had not been confined solely to negroes.

The government of the island during the sixteenth century was almost exclusively military. Ponce de Leon, the first governor, was later superseded by an appointee of Diego Columbus, who claimed the right of appointing all officers in the lands discovered by his father. But quarrels and

dissensions in the island led the king, in 1517, to appoint a commission of three Jerome friars to control Porto Rico and Santo Domingo. After an administration of about three years, this commission was followed by an alternation of governors, appointed by the crown and by Columbus, which continued until 1537. An official list of the year 1511 shows, in addition to the governor, two other royal officers, the treasurer and the auditor, who while acting as an executive council to the governor, could not bind the latter to follow their advice. Another officer was the resident judge, whose duty was to investigate the actions of the governor after his term of office had expired, in a manner somewhat similar to the impeachment of the ancient Roman officers. Other appointees were the inspector, factor, and secretary. At this early date the city of San Juan (then called Puerto Rico), appears to have had a municipal government, for a mayor (alcalde), aldermen, and a high justice are also mentioned in the list of officers to which reference has been made.

Until 1537 many complaints reached Spain from the colony protesting against the acts of the governors, who were usually minor military officials given to arbitrary and dishonest acts. In that year Columbus lost his power of appointing officials, and for seven years the island was governed by mayors and constables elected annually from among the inhabitants by a board of eight aldermen. But popular government and resident officers gave rise to factions and jealousies; and in 1544 the system of appointing royal governors from non-residents was restored.

Ecclesiastical authority was extended to the island in 1511 by its erection into a bishopric; and two years later the first bishop, Alonso Manso, arrived. He received authority to collect tithes and other ecclesiastical revenues; and a few years afterward he was made the representative in America of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Gradually the diocese of San Juan Bautista was extended to include all the Spanish Lesser Antilles and the northeast coast of



Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain, signed December 10, 1898.
From the original in the Department of State, Washington.

of America, having seen and considered the said treaty — do hereby, in pursuance of the aforesaid advice and consent of the Senate, ratify and confirm the same and every article and clause thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be hereunto affixed.

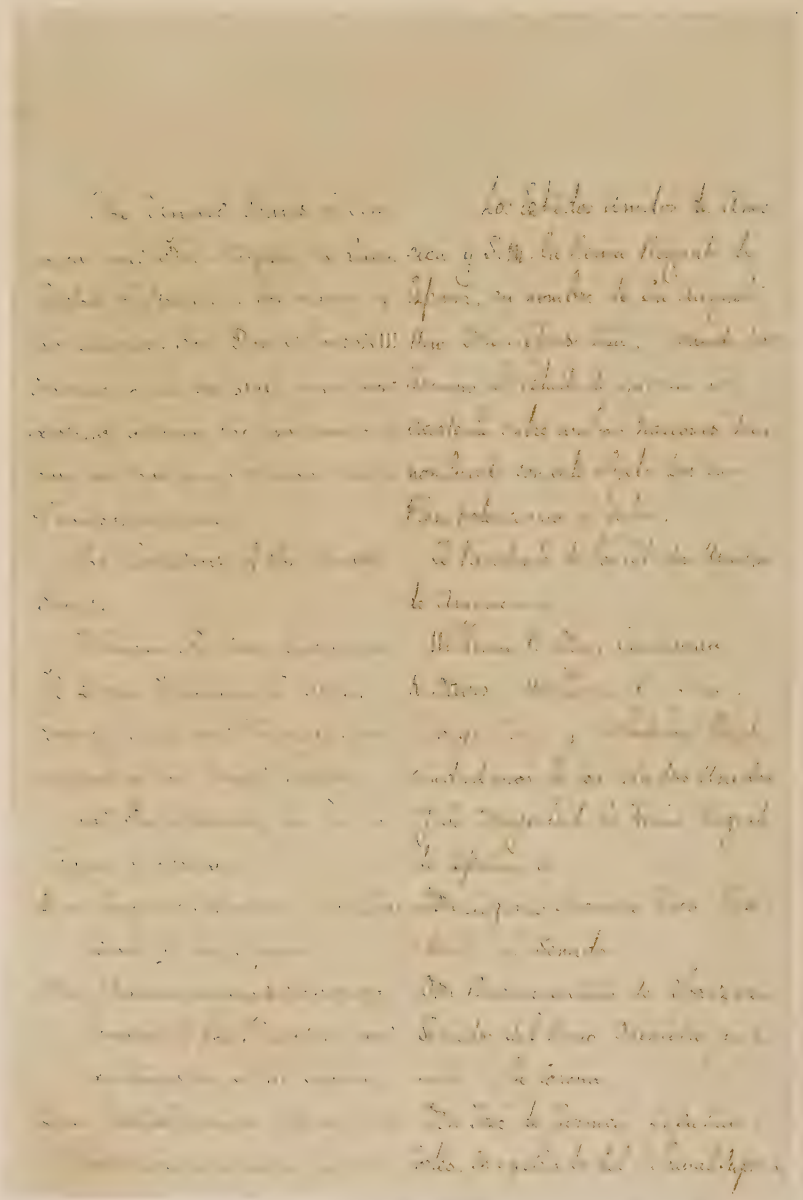
Given under my hand at the City of Washington the sixth day of February, in the year of Our Lord one thousand [illegible] hundred and [illegible] and of the [illegible] the United States [illegible] one hundred [illegible] third.

William McKinley

By the President:

John Hay

Secretary of State.



[illegible]

Don Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa-Urrutia, Enviado Extraordinario y Ministro Plenipotenciario en [illegible]

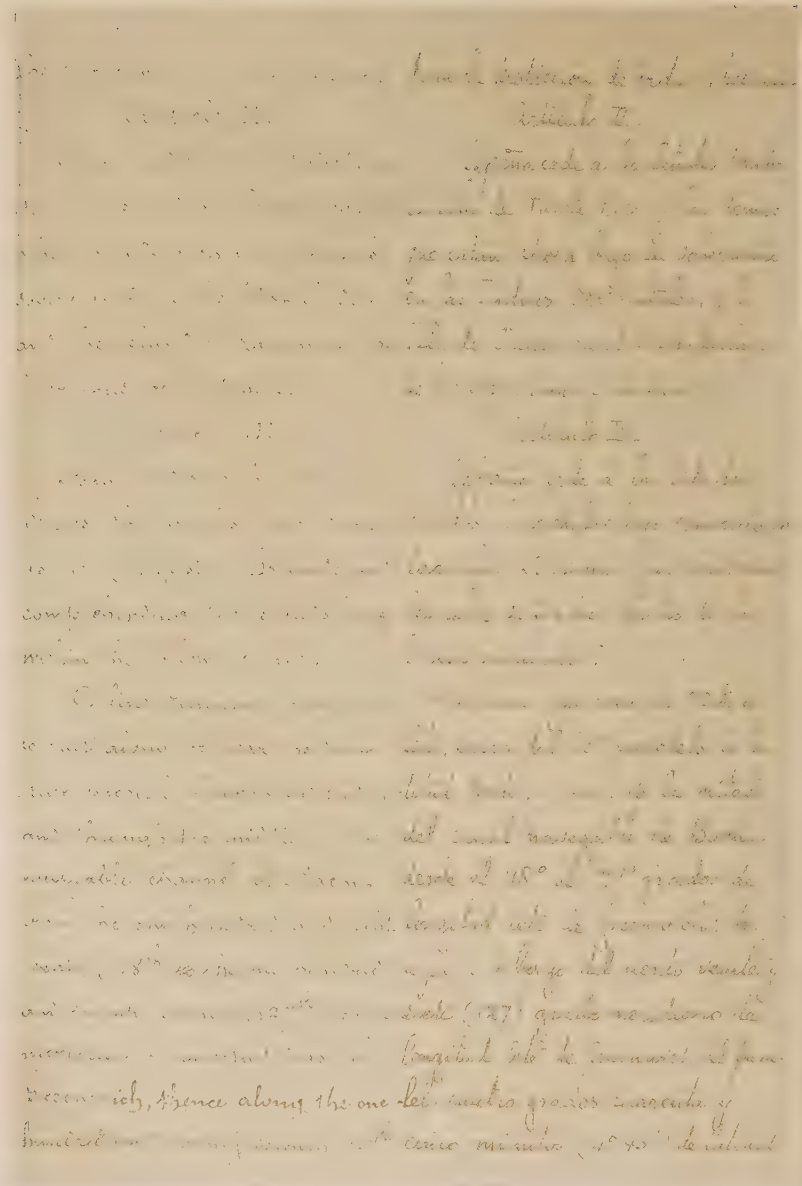
Don Rafael Cerero, General de Division.

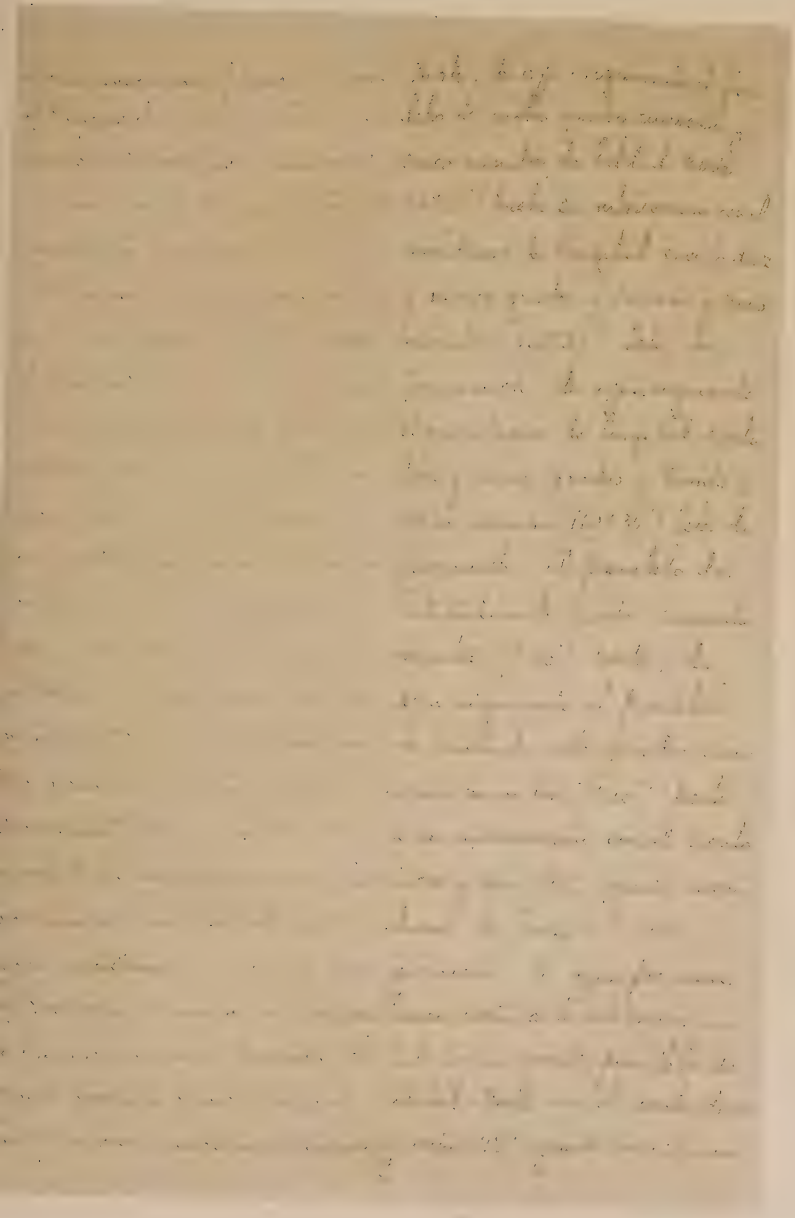
Los cuales reunidos en Paris, despues de haberse comunicado sus plenos poderes que fueron hallados en buena y debida forma, y [illegible] la discusion de las materias pendientes, han convenido en los siguientes Articulos:

Articulo I.

España renuncia todo derecho de soberanía y [illegible]

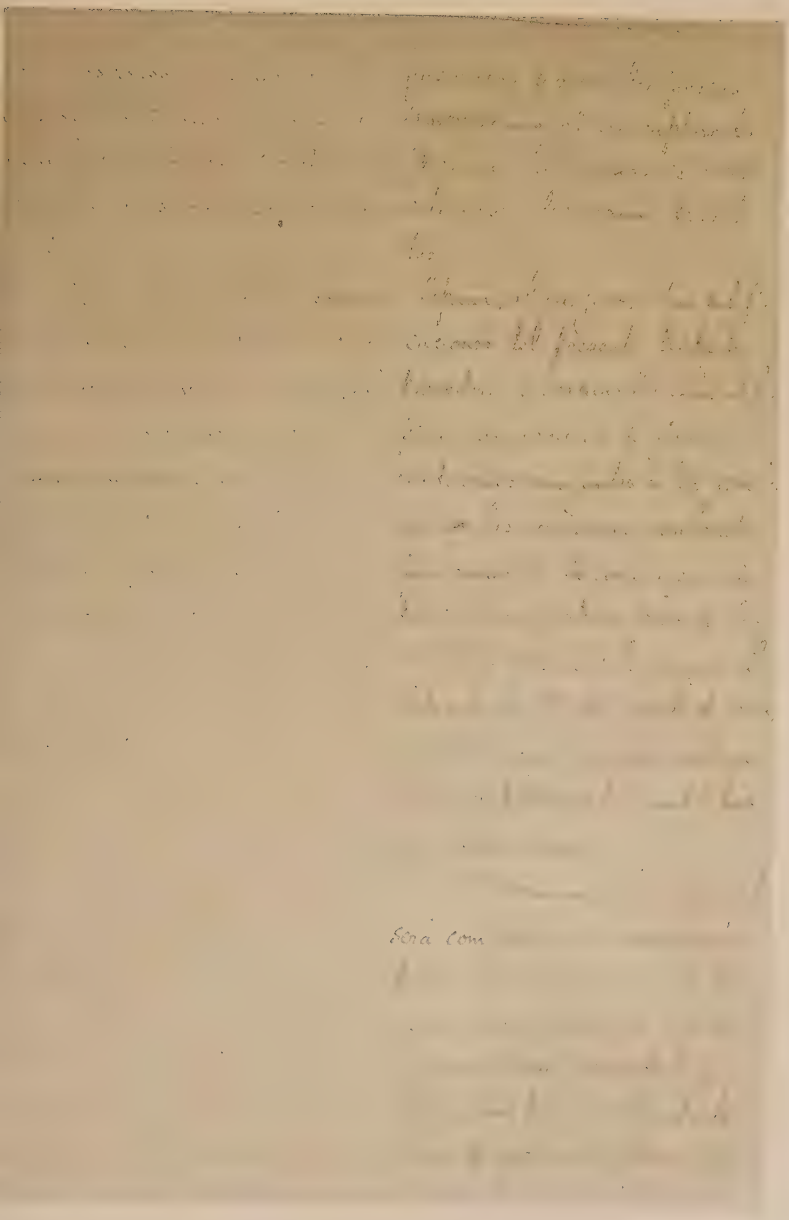
En atención á que dicha isla, cuando sea evacuada por España, [illegible] ocupada por los Estados Unidos los Estados Unidos mientras dure su ocupacion, tomarán sobre [illegible] y cumplirán las obligaciones que por el hecho de [illegible] impone el Derecho Internacional.





Artículo V

Los Estados Unidos, al ser firmado el presente tratado, trasportarán á España, á su costa, los soldados españoles que hicieron



... and accessories, bro... armas portátiles, cañones de todos
... low five stock, ... calibres con sus montajes y
... accesorios, pólvoras, municiones,
... ganado, material y efectos de toda
... clase pertenecientes á los ejércitos
... de mar y tierra de España en las
... servir ordinaire Filipinas y Cuba. Las piezas de
... ations a ... fuego cuyo calibre, que no sean artil-
... lería de campaña, colocadas en
... las fortificaciones y en las costas,
... quedarán en sus emplazamientos
... por el plazo de seis meses á partir
... del canje de ratificaciones del pre-
... sente tratado, y los Estados Unidos
... podrán, durante ese lapso, comprar
... á España dicho material, si ambos
... Gobiernos llegan á un acuerdo
... ...ivent between the two Governments on the subject shall be reached.
... satisfactorio sobre el particular.

Article VI.

... Spain will, upon the signature of the present treaty, release all prisoners of war, and all persons imprisoned for ... acts committed ...

Artículo VI

España, al ser firmado el presente tratado, pondrá en libertad á todos los prisioneros de guerra y á todos los detenidos ó presos por delitos políticos á consecuencia

de las insurrecciones en Cuba y en Filipinas y de la guerra con los Estados Unidos.

Recíprocamente, los Estados Unidos pondrán en libertad á todos los prisioneros de guerra hechos por las fuerzas americanas y [illegible] la libertad de todos los prisioneros españoles en poder de los insurrectos de Cuba y Filipinas.

El Gobierno de los Estados Unidos trasportará, [illegible] cuenta á España, y el Gobierno de España trasportará por su cuenta á los Estados Unidos, Cuba, Puerto Rico y Filipinas, con arreglo á la situación [illegible] respectivos hogares, los prisioneros que hayan ó que hagan poner en libertad respectivamente, en virtud de este artículo.

Artículo VII.

España y los Estados Unidos de América renuncian mutua-

for indemnity, national and individual, of every kind, of either Government, or of its citizens or subjects, against the other Government, that may [illegible]

prior to the exchange of ra- [illegible]

nity for the cost of the war.

The United States will [illegible]

of its citizens against Spain [illegible]

Article VIII.

In conformity with the [illegible]

West Indies, in the is- [illegible]

mente, por el presente tratado, á toda reclamación de indemnización [illegible] ó privada de cualquier [illegible] de un Gobierno contra el otro, ó de sus [illegible] ciudadanos [illegible] otro Gobierno, que pueda haber surgido desde el comienzo de la última insurrección en Cuba [illegible] anterior al canje de ratificaciones del presente tratado, así como toda indemnización en concepto de gastos ocasionados por la guerra.

Los Estados Unidos pagarán y resolverán las reclamaciones de sus ciudadanos contra España, á que renuncia en este Artículo.

Artículo VIII.

En cumplimiento de lo convenido en los artículos I, II, III de este tratado, España renuncia en Cuba y cede en Puerto Rico y en las otras islas de las Indias Occidentales, en la Isla de Guam y en el Archipiélago de las Filipinas, todos los edificios, muelles, cuarteles, fortalezas,

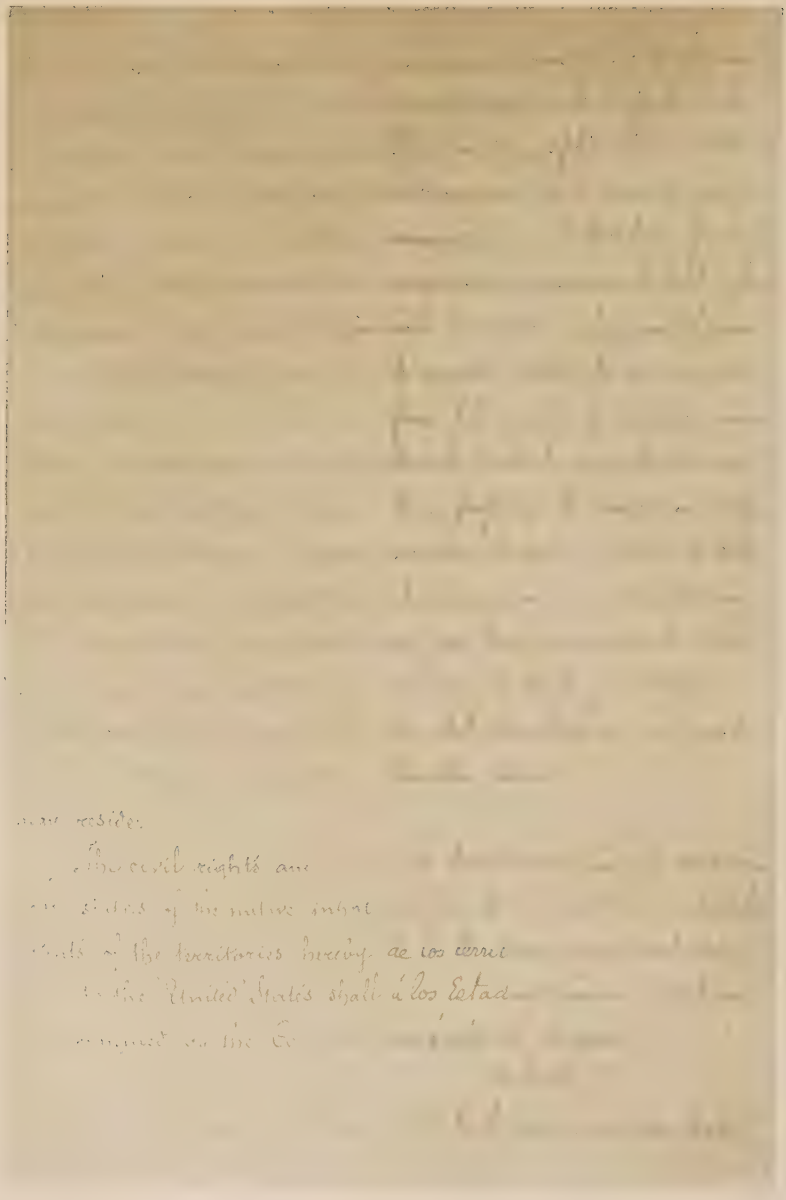
[illegible] establecimientos, vías públicas y demás bienes inmuebles que con arreglo á derecho son del dominio público, y como tal corresponden á la Corona de España.

Queda por lo tanto declarado que esta renuncia ó cesión, según el caso, á que se refiere el párrafo anterior, en nada puede mermar la propiedad, ó los derechos que correspondan, con arreglo á las leyes, al poseedor [illegible], de los bienes de todas clases de las provincias, municipios, establecimientos públicos ó privados, corporaciones civiles ó eclesiásticas ó de cualesquiera otras colectividades que tienen personalidad jurídica para adquirir y poseer bienes en los mencionados territorios renunciados ó cedidos, y los de los individuos particulares, cualquiera que sea su nacionalidad.

Dicha renuncia ó cesión, según el caso, incluye todos los documentos

Artículo IX.

Los súbditos españoles, naturales de la Península, residentes en el territorio cuya soberanía España renuncia ó cede por el presente tratado, podrán permanecer en dicho territorio ó marcharse de él conservando en uno ú otro caso todos sus derechos de propiedad con inclusión del derecho de vender ó disponer de tal propiedad ó de sus productos y además tendrán el derecho de ejercer su



[illegible]
[illegible]ishes or cedes her sover[illegible]
shall [illegible] secured in the free ex[illegible]
[illegible] their religion.

[illegible]

[illegible] Spaniards residing in
the territories over which Spain
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible] at the time of the exchange
of [illegible]
the territories over which Spain
[illegible] or cedes her sovereign

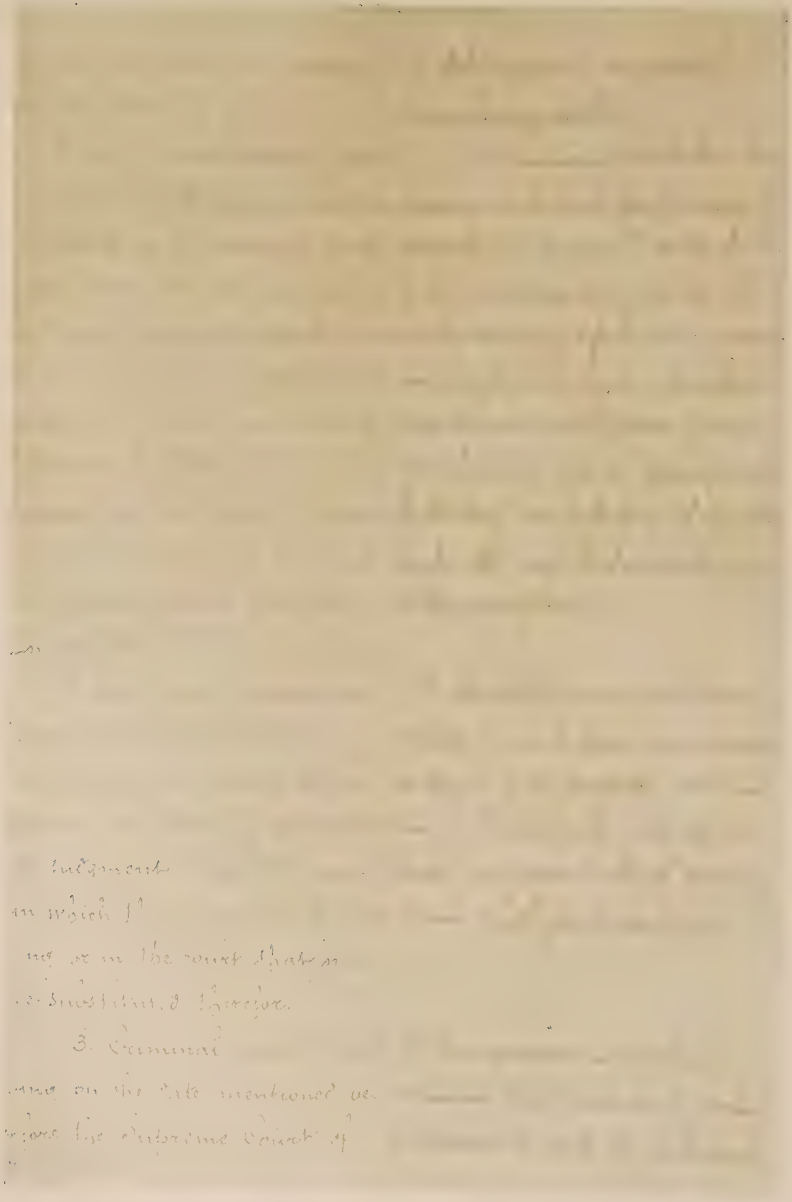
[illegible] cuya Soberanía España
renuncia ó cede, tendrán
asegurado el libre ejercicio de
su religion.

Artículo XI.

Los Españoles residentes en los
territorios cuya soberanía cede ó
renuncia España por este tratado
estarán sometidos en lo civil y en
lo criminal á los [illegible] del
país en que residan con arreglo
á las leyes comunes que regulen
su competencia, pudiendo com-
parecer ante aquellos en la misma
forma y empleando los mismos
procedimientos que deban observar
los ciudadanos del país á que
pertenezca el tribunal.

Artículo XII.

Los procedimientos judiciales
pendientes al canjearse las ratifi-
caciones de este tratado, en los
territorios sobre los cuales España
renuncia ó cede su Soberanía,



establish consular officers in the
and places of the territories the sove
ty over which has been either relinqui
ed or ceded by the present treaty

Article

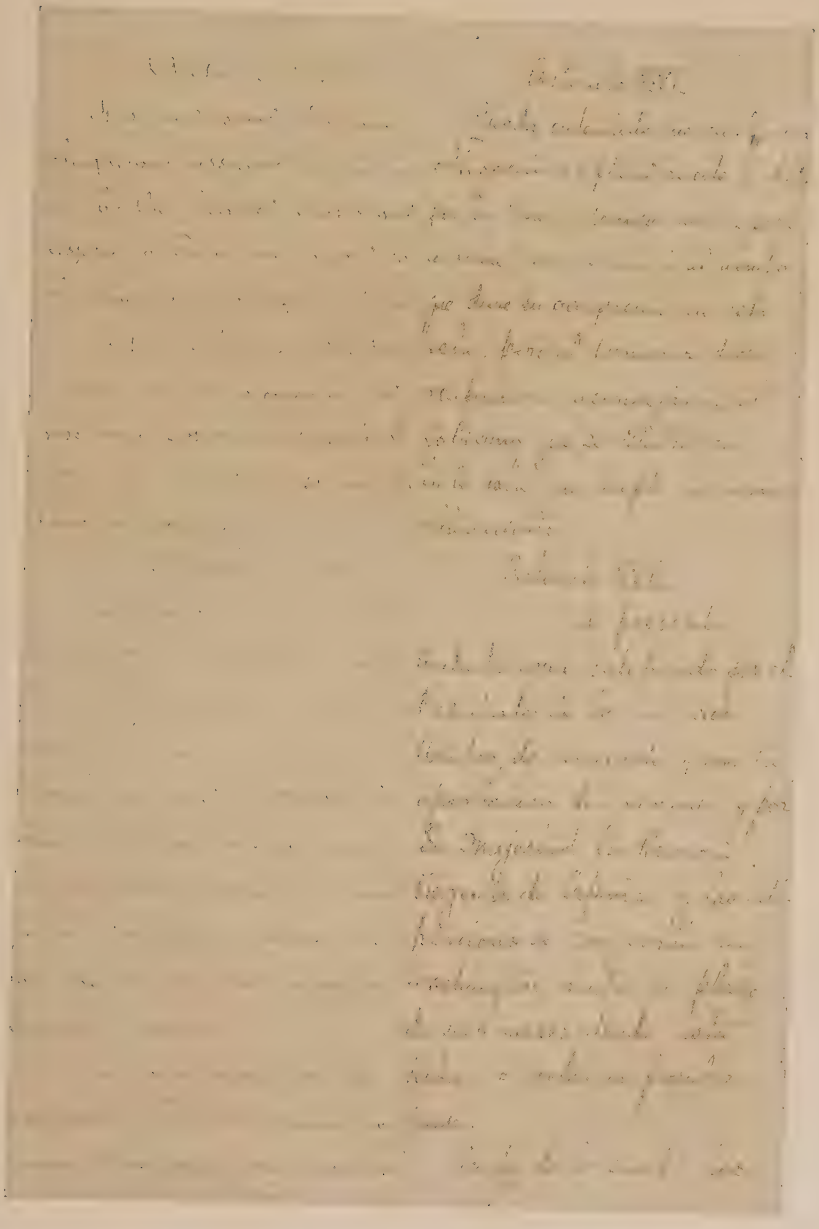
The Government
will, for the term of
e the merchant vessels
country the same treatment in
respect of all port charges, includ
ing entrance and clearance dues
nues, and tonnage duties, as it ac
cords to its own merchant vessels
and engaged in the coastwise
trade

This article may at any time
be terminated on six months'

plazo de diez años á contar desde
el canje de ratificaciones de este
tratado.

Artículo XIV

España podrá establecer
[illegible]



And whereas, the said convention was duly ratified on both parts, and the ratifications of the two governments were exchanged in the city of Washington, on the fourth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and ninety nine;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, William McKinley, President of the United States of America, have caused the said convention to be made public, to the end that the same and every part thereof may be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States and the citizens thereof.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be

South America. Heretics from other parts of Spanish America were brought to San Juan to be tried and burned, and even a governor of the island fell a victim of the Inquisition. Frequent quarrels arose here, as in the other Spanish colonies, between the monastic orders,—which had received power from the pope to exercise in the colonies the functions and prerogatives of parish priests,—and the secular clergy, led by the bishop.

From the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, the historical records of Porto Rico are very scanty. Internally the island appears to have been at peace, pursuing its primitive agricultural occupations under the despotic authority of the Spanish governors. Its growth, however, was very slow, and in 1650 there were only six settlements upon the island. The principal dramatic elements of the history of these years arise from the attacks of foreign nations and of buccaneers upon the island. The small islands and reefs of the Spanish Main furnished shelter for the most adventurous and desperate characters in an age of daring. Lured on by the hope of plundering Spanish treasure cities and gold-laden galleons from Mexico, these men built swift vessels and organized whole fleets for marauding purposes. Royal navies, lawfully commissioned privateersmen, slavers, smugglers, and pirates frequented the West Indian waters and isles, and battened upon the treasure which Spain was too weak adequately to protect. The Spanish Main became a region of unchecked lawlessness, of personal violence, and of inordinate lust of gold, power, and revenge, such as the world had not seen since the invasions of the Northmen upon European coasts. Entire islands, claimed by the Spaniards, were seized by bands of privateers, who after a successful attack, would raise the flag of the European state to which they professed to belong, and later gain recognition from the home government. In this way, during the declining power of Spain, the Dutch, the English, and the French established themselves in the West Indies.

Many attacks by the regular navies or by privateers were made upon the Porto Rican coasts. Seized twice previously, San German, the second town of importance in the island, was in 1554 completely destroyed by French privateers. In 1595 Sir Francis Drake attacked San Juan, and was only beaten off by the guns and crew of a Spanish treasure fleet which had sought refuge in the harbor. Had the old adventurer known of the two millions of pesos in the fort it is altogether likely he would have taken the place. Three years later, in 1598, another English expedition succeeded in capturing San Juan; but after a three months' occupation, Admiral George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, was forced by an epidemic of yellow fever to withdraw his forces from the island. During the seventeenth century, French, English and Dutch buccaneers and privateers frequently attacked the ports of the island and plundered its coasts. In the eighteenth century several unsuccessful attacks were made by the English; and in April, 1797, a well-equipped English fleet and army was beaten off from San Juan after a valorous defence by the garrison and inhabitants.

Up to 1765 the extremely gradual increase of the population continued. Two hundred and fifty years after the first settlement there were only 40,000 inhabitants on the island, and but twenty hamlets or towns were in existence. For a long time the island was in fact a penal colony, and convicts were sent there from Spain and the other Spanish colonies. The population was an admixture of the descendants of such persons with the Spanish adventurers, soldiers, sailors, and deserters, or with Indian half-breeds, negroes, or the few buccaneers of English, Dutch, French, or other nationalities who settled permanently upon the coasts.

We are fortunate in having two excellent accounts of the condition of the island in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Field-Marshal Alexander O'Reilly had been governor of Louisiana after it was transferred to Spain in 1763. Two years later he was ordered by the

Spanish king to report upon the social, economic, military, and religious conditions of Porto Rico. A few years after this, in 1772, the Benedictine monk, Iñigo Abbad came to Porto Rico and acted as confessor to the bishop until 1781. His account of the history and conditions of the island was published in 1788.

Marshal O'Reilly attributes the slight progress of the island to the absence of a code of laws conducive to the prosperity of the island, and to the character of the population. Concerning the latter, he says, "The development of the resources of the land had been in the hands of soldiers accustomed only to arms and warfare, and among these were numbers of seamen, sailors, and stowaways who had deserted from every vessel which had touched the island. These people, lazy as a class, unrestrained by the Government, extended over the mountains and valleys of Porto Rico, built themselves miserable hovels, and with two or three plantains, together with native fruits and the number of cattle which roamed among the mountains, they procured fruit, vegetables, milk, and some meat, and upon these lived, and so even now continue. These men were worthless and lazy, they possessed no implements, had no knowledge of agriculture, had no one to assist them in their work or aid in clearing the forests; therefore, how could they advance?" Laziness was also encouraged by the balminess of the climate, by the fecundity of the earth and by the abundance of wild fruit, for by five days' labor a family could, according to O'Reilly, obtain plantains sufficient for a year's consumption.

In the whole island, O'Reilly found but two schools, and outside the towns of San Juan and San German very few persons were able to read. Describing the mental condition of the inhabitants, he says, "They reckon their dates from the epochs of government, hurricanes, visits of the bishop, arrivals of fleets, or receipt of money allowances from Mexico. They do not know what a league is, a journey being estimated in proportion to the time likely to be occupied in travel, and the principal people of the island

always walk with feet and legs bare. The whites find no repugnance to intermarriage with the mulattoes. In all towns, except the capital, the only permanent resident is the priest, the others living always in the country. Those in the vicinity of the church come to mass every Sunday, and during the Christmas festivities everybody gathers and shares in the rejoicings. For those days temporary huts are used, constructed like dovecotes, having neither windows nor doors, and so meagrely furnished are they that they are readily moved. The houses in the country are similarly constructed, though some are more improved." The people were the poorest in America, and although the king had spent twenty million pesos in the conquest and support of the island, yet there were not fifty thousand pesos in circulation in the entire island. Porto Rico, beautiful and fertile, was a constant burden upon the royal treasury.

Fray Abbad describes somewhat similar conditions; and he attributes many of them to the discouragement of personal incentive arising from the difficulty of obtaining land for farm purposes. Down to 1778 the title to all land was vested in the crown, but the usufruct of large tracts was granted to the early settlers and their descendants. Later and poorer immigrants could not secure holdings, but were forced to become dependents of the great landlords, and thus grew into a distinct social class called *agregadas*. Regarding the personal property of the ordinary peasant, he says, "Furniture and household effects do not form a hindrance. A hammock and one cooking pot are the only utensils they have. Plates, spoons, cups, jars, and all other utensils they make from bark of trees. Their only instrument consists of a machete, with which they cut the bark, as well as cane, bamboo, and other necessaries for conducting a house. With this instrument they also clear the forests, prepare the land, and in fact they use it in their every occupation."

Under such social conditions there were few surplus products and consequently little foreign trade. The earliest

The Red Wall of San Juan, Porto Rico.

Plaza and municipal building, San Juan, Porto Rico.

exports, after the exhaustion of the gold fields, were dyewoods, ginger and indigo; but by the eighteenth century all of these had become unimportant. With the multiplication of cattle, hides were frequently exported. Sugar-cane was introduced in 1515, and the first sugar factory was erected in 1548. Coffee was brought from Martinique, probably not long after 1720, the year in which it was introduced into that island. Cotton appears to have been raised at a comparatively early date. The cultivation of tobacco, an indigenous plant, was at first restricted, and as late as 1608 was prohibited by a royal order. In 1614 its cultivation was permitted, but with the proviso that the death penalty would be inflicted upon any one selling tobacco to foreigners, and a policy of severe restrictions was maintained until the close of the eighteenth century.

The agricultural production in 1776, including not exports alone, but all farm products, is stated by Abbad to have been 273,725 pounds of sugar; 11,875 pounds of cotton; 1,126,225 pounds of coffee; 2,009,650 pounds of rice; 1,550,600 pounds of corn; 701,750 pounds of tobacco; and 78,884 jars of molasses. The cattle on the island at the same time numbered 151,153. The foreign trade in these articles under the trade restrictions of the Spanish colonial system was insignificant. In 1755 there were said to be but two vessels trading to the island, and during the year 1761 only four vessels entered Porto Rican ports from Spain. For many years the imports greatly exceeded the exports, and the trade balances were settled by Spanish appropriations to defray the cost of the civil and military establishment in the colony.

In the seventeenth century, when the insular revenues were insufficient to maintain the troops and fortifications necessary for the protection of the island from the buccaneers, the policy was adopted of making an annual appropriation from the Mexican treasury. These sums, called "situados", had been granted before 1644, and soon came to be looked upon as a necessity. If for any reason they were withheld

the island was in want and gloom; when the money arrived the whole population rejoiced. The exact amount of these situados has not been determined, but the historian and statistician, Pedro Tomas Córdova, estimates that between 1766 and 1809, when the Mexican revolution brought an end to the practice, the total amount received from Mexico and Venezuela was 13,044,077 pesos, equivalent in purchasing power at least to the same amount of dollars in American gold. Other facts seem to show that the total of the situados was much greater than Córdova's estimate. The granting of the situados, at first justifiable as a military measure, later exercised a depressing influence upon industry and developed a dependent and unambitious type of individual whose listlessness has been one of the most serious hindrances to the economic advance of the country. The insular government, the municipalities, and the individual expected support from a source apart from the legitimate exercise of their true functions and powers.

The nineteenth century was a period of quite continuous social and economic growth on the island. This is well shown by the population figures during the century. In 1765, the population had numbered only 44,883, but by 1800 it had risen to 155,426; and in the year 1899, the census taken by the United States War Department showed 853,243 inhabitants. The rate of growth, however, has not been uniform; beginning with an increase of 26 per cent in the first decade, it declined until between 1877 and 1887 the increase was only 9 per cent; while it again rose in the decade 1889-1899 to 16 per cent.

Moreover, the increase in population has been accompanied by an advance in economic well-being and in intellectual life. Although only a small part of the population participated in the struggle to attain these higher ideals, yet the contest gives the sole characteristic to the history of Porto Rico in the nineteenth century. The island did not see great popular uprisings similar to those in Cuba, nor was it the theatre of military or naval operations in war

time; its history rather centres about the peaceable attempt to free the island from the exactions of the Spanish officials and from the commercial restrictions of Spanish laws.

In the early years of the century many influences aided in strengthening the island commercially and industrially. Among these influences may be mentioned the cessation of the revenues from Mexico, which, although at first producing a financial crisis, and leading to such ill-advised measures as the seizure of ecclesiastical and trust funds, and the issue of paper money, yet in the long run forced the island to become self-supporting. This point was reached in 1827, after almost twenty years of financial and administrative difficulties.

Of far-reaching influence were the many reforms introduced about the year 1813 by the first administrator of the insular treasury, Don Alejandro Ramirez, a financier sent from Spain at the request of the Spanish Cortes. Ramirez established new custom-houses along the coasts in order to encourage the coastwise trade, which, in the absence of good roads, he realized must furnish the principal means of communication. He regulated the tariff duties, stopped smuggling, and admitted agricultural implements free of duty. Pamphlets were written and printed describing the best methods of cultivating various products; the restrictions upon slave and free labor were removed, and immigration was encouraged. One of the most valuable acts of Ramirez was the organization of a society called "The Economic Society of Friends of the Country", which from 1813 to the close of Spanish rule has interested itself in the promotion of agriculture, commerce, and education.

But more important than these measures, and of greater influence than the partial removal of trade restrictions in 1778, and the temporary grant of political privileges under the Spanish constitution of 1812, were the terms of the royal act of 1815. The authorship of this act has been attributed to Ramirez, and at least it contains many of the beneficial reforms which he had already introduced. By

most writers this single decree is given as the cause for the subsequent prosperity of the island. According to the terms of the royal decree of August 15, 1815, trade between Porto Rico and any ports where Spanish consuls resided, was to be open to all Spaniards and inhabitants of the Spanish colonies; with the exceptions that a prohibition was placed upon the exportation of money, and the reëxportation of foreign commodities from Porto Rico, "inasmuch as the consumption of all goods imported in Porto Rico should not extend beyond its requirements."

Negro slaves, by this act, could be imported free of duty during the term of fifteen years; for three years foreign vessels could be purchased by the inhabitants of Porto Rico and be registered "as if built in Spain", without the payment of taxes. Still more remarkable was the king's promise that "the direct trade of Spain with the inhabitants of Porto Rico, and that between this island and the rest of my islands and territories in America will be entirely free of all duties whatsoever for a term of fifteen years." Favorable inducements were offered to foreign Catholic immigrants, who could be naturalized after five years' residence in the island. Settlers should be given one hundred and seventy acres of land for each white person in their families, and half that amount for each slave. Free negroes who were heads of families might receive one-half the amount granted to whites. The promise was made that no capitation tax should ever be laid upon whites, and no greater one than one dollar a year upon slaves. Finally, for fifteen years the colonists were to be freed from the payment of tithes and the taxes upon commercial transactions. Such exceptional favors led to the coming of immigrants, particularly of wealthy planters from the rebellious colonies in Central and South America, and to the wide expansion of the trade of the colony; and both these results tended to build up domestic industries.

Insular interests were conserved also by the able government of Lieutenant-General Miguel de la Torre, whose

administration extended from 1822 to 1837. Torre organized and enlarged the militia and from this time the military companies furnished a source of new wants and ideals, without which there could be no advance in civilization.

From the early years of the century up to 1873 the growth of agriculture and commerce and in population continued. There are few facts of political significance in these years. Twenty-two captains-general were sent to the island between 1837 and 1873, of whom few respected the interests of the governed. Petty insurrections occurred in 1820, in 1868, and in 1873, but, owing to the apathy of the population, no great popular movement developed. Certain of the governors fostered the national vices of gambling and cock-fighting, on the principle that when satisfied with such pleasures the people would not have occasion to feel and express political discontent. After the revolution of 1868 in Spain, the radicals made promises of self-government to the people of Cuba and Porto Rico, but these, if carried out at all, gave very few popular privileges. Representation was granted to the islands in the Spanish Cortes, and an act of 1869 declared all the colonists to be Spanish citizens. Another law of 1870 provided for elective officers in the municipalities, and for an elective representative board of administration called the provincial deputation. The electorate for these officers was, however, very narrow, being limited to males over twenty-five years of age, paying five pesos in taxes or holding a professional diploma. These qualifications excluded the great body of inhabitants; and the effect of the law is described as being practically "no suffrage at all. It was, in fact, so arranged that only the nominees of the Crown could be elected."

In 1873 the Spanish government abolished slavery in Porto Rico. The early attitude of the Spanish government of encouragement of slavery has been noted, but the increase in the number of slaves was relatively slower in Porto Rico than in the other West Indian islands. In 1765,

there were 5,037 slaves on the island; by 1802 this number had risen to 13,333; and in 1846 the highest number, 51,265, was reached. Thereafter, the slaves diminished in numbers until in 1873, 29,229 negroes were freed in a single day. Under the terms of the act of emancipation, the owners were paid about 300 pesos for each slave; the payment, however, was made in government bonds which later depreciated to only fifteen per cent of their face value. In this connection it may be mentioned that Porto Rico and Cuba possess a much smaller proportion of negroes and mulattoes than any of the other West Indian islands. The census of 1899 indicated in Porto Rico 363,817 colored persons, out of a total population of 953,243, or a proportion of 38 per cent; the Cuban census of the same year showed that the colored population made up 33 per cent of the population of that island. In Jamaica, the Leeward Islands, Barbadoes, and St. Vincent, the proportion of negroes is over ninety per cent of the population, and even in the more northern islands of the Bahamas and the Bermudas, the proportions are respectively 74 and 61 per cent.

Following the emancipation of slaves, but not wholly due to that act, the island passed through a period of agricultural and commercial depression, which lasted for a decade and a half. Undoubtedly the derangement of labor conditions by the freeing of the slaves, and the financial evils arising from the depreciation of the bonds given for the slaves, had much to do with this crisis; but the situation of the sugar market under the competition of European beet-sugar was the dominant factor. Antiquated administration, corruption of officials, judicial delays, lack of roads and railways, restrictions upon the coastwise trade reimposed after the early freedom, and other discouragements to the investment of capital all played their part in preventing a return to normal economic conditions. By 1880 the ruling price of sugar had fallen from three cents, the price in 1870, to 1.36 cents. The average annual exports of sugar from 1860 to 1880 were about one hundred thousand short

tons; but from 1880 to 1897 the annual exportation reached only sixty thousand tons. Tobacco exports in the decade 1870-1880 were twelve million pounds, while in the following decade they declined to scarcely one-third that amount.

The decline in the market for sugar and tobacco turned the Porto Rican's attention to that crop which can be raised with little capital, on a small acreage, and with scarcely any labor. Coffee cultivation is essentially the poor man's agriculture in the tropics, as sugar cultivation is the rich man's. In 1870 the exports of coffee were seventeen million pounds; by 1880 they had risen to forty-eight millions; in 1890 they fell to forty-three millions; but by 1897, they reached the large total of fifty-one millions, and the crop of 1898 was estimated to equal an exportation of sixty-four million pounds.

Intellectually, the island had advanced but slowly in the nineteenth century. O'Reilly in 1765 had found but two schools, and as late as 1815, when an inspection of schools was ordered, the visitation was limited to San Juan and San German, owing to the fact that outside those places there were no schools worthy of the name. If any instruction was given in other places, it was limited to the study of the catechism and simple lessons in reading given by priests or travelling school-teachers. In San Juan a class in philosophy taught by the Dominicans, and private classes in Latin and sacred history under priestly instruction existed at the beginning of the century. The Economic Society of Friends of the Country established a school for girls, and classes in the languages, mathematics, and other branches. Later, in the forties, the society attempted the organization of a college, but its plans were thwarted by the governor.

In 1838 the governor directed all the municipalities to establish town and rural schools in which poor children would be educated free of charge. The order was reinforced by others in 1846 and 1849; the order of the latter year adding a proprietary right to the position of school-teacher.

A measure of 1865, providing for competitive examinations of teachers, the appointment of graduates of the normal school, and containing many other good features, was rendered largely nugatory by the opposition of the municipal authorities and of the teachers who held by life tenure. Until the close of Spanish rule the instruction was extremely meagre; the proprietary schoolmasters, often receiving no regular salary for years, directed their attention to the scholars whose parents were willing to pay fees; and the rural schools are described as "nothing better than poorly conducted nurseries for children of all ages." An American investigation in 1899 reported teachers holding superior certificates who received a grading of less than twenty-five per cent upon questions in geography and arithmetic such as would be given to young children in the United States. Higher education, except as furnished by private persons, usually in ecclesiastical positions, scarcely existed upon the island. In 1898, there were two so-called normal schools, an orphan asylum trade school in San Juan, which appears to have been one of the most successful schools on the island; some classes held by the Economic Society; and three religious private schools, of which one was open only to girls. An institute, purporting to give collegiate instruction, and having sixty pupils in February, 1899, possessed no building of its own, and in the opinion of the American commissioners, was "as nearly worthless as possible."

Under such conditions it is not surprising that the census of 1899 showed a high rate of illiteracy. Eighty-five per cent of the population were unable to read and write, and only one-half of one per cent had received higher education. The enrolled school pupils in 1898, when compulsory education of all children was supposed to be in force, numbered 25,644, or only eight per cent of the children of school age; and the average school attendance was but six per cent of all persons between five and seventeen years of age. In spite of the fact that the proportion of literates had doubled in forty years, yet Porto Rico had a higher

Old gateway, San Juan, Porto Rico.

proportion of illiteracy than any other island in the West Indies, and this notwithstanding the large negro population in some of the neighboring islands.

With education upon such a low plane, neither the press nor general literature could flourish. The first printing-press set up in 1807, published the official gazette of the insular government. The press labored under severe laws down to 1865, when eight newspapers were in existence; and in that year the restrictions were so increased that one-half of the eight newspapers were driven out of existence. The rigor of these laws was later relaxed and at the time of American occupation there were about a score of newspapers published in the island. Libraries of a public nature did not exist until the second half of the nineteenth century. Ecclesiastical libraries had been founded at an early date by the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and in connection with the bishop's palace. The first public library, founded by the Economic Society, was opened to all classes in 1884.

Administrative machinery naturally had become more intricate with the advance in wealth and population. From a small colonial government with petty military officials in control, the island administration had grown into a great system with a superabundance of officers, and, unfortunately, a dearth of true statesmanship. Below the governor-general, who, since 1783, had been almost uniformly of the rank of lieutenant-general in Spain, and whose power always partook largely of a military character, there was a great number of officers and departments. Among these were the council of administration, and a smaller consultative council composed of certain members of the larger one, and called the board of authorities; but the governor was not required to follow the advice of either of these bodies in any case. Of similar insignificance was the power of the regional delegates, who, elected in the municipalities, acted mainly as the agents of the municipal authorities in their dealings with the central government. Among the departments or administrative boards were the insular secretaryship, the treasury

department, and the boards of the civil guard, of public works and instruction, of communications and health, of agriculture, of harbor works, of the civil and criminal courts, and the courts of first instance. Over all of these the power of the governor was practically supreme.

The court system, under the decrees of January 5, 1891, comprised a local court in each of sixty-four municipalities, and two such courts in San Juan and Ponce; twelve courts of first instance for civil and criminal cases; three criminal courts, called audiencias, above those of first instance; and one appellate civil court called the "territorial audiencia." Appeals from this could be taken to the courts of Spain.

The church was supported by taxation, and the clergy were held to be officers of the government. The bishop was a member of the administrative council and of the board of authorities. In 1898 the clergy included the bishop, the dean of the cathedral, the archdeacon, the chantre, five canons, four prebends, eighty-eight parish priests, fifty-two assistant priests, and eighty-six sacristans.

Between 1870 and 1880 the municipalities were organized under the decrees of 1870 and subsequent years permitting a very limited suffrage for certain town officers. Later acts of March 15, 1895, and December 31, 1896, expanded the town organization and perfected the electoral system. The act of November 25, 1897, according to which manhood suffrage was to be established in the towns, did not go into effect before the date of American occupation. At that time it was estimated that only 20,000 persons in Porto Rico were qualified for the municipal suffrage. The municipal organization, even in the smallest towns, comprised many officers and was unnecessarily expensive. The town of Toa Baja with four thousand inhabitants had an official list as complete and numerous as that of an American town one hundred times its size. Throughout the town government there was peculation, favoritism, lack of responsibility, and an absence of true local patriotism. Municipal taxes were often farmed out to the highest bidder.

One-fourth to one-half of these taxes came from excises on foods, beverages, and fuel.

During the closing months of Spanish rule, in Porto Rico, the authorities were occupied in the establishment of an autonomous government under the terms of the royal decrees of November 25, 1897. These decrees provided for the exercise of the supreme political power by the governor-general representing the Spanish government, and by a legislature of two houses, the upper house of which also performed some administrative functions. This upper house, named the council of administration, was composed of eight persons possessing high property qualifications, elected in the island for a term of ten years, unless the council was earlier dissolved, and of seven persons appointed for life by the governor-general as representing the crown; and it was implied that the cabinet secretaries could be included among these fifteen persons. The organization of this council, representing both home government and the colony, and its joint work in legislation and administration are interesting because of the incorporation of similar features into the act of April 12, 1900, establishing territorial government in Porto Rico. The lower house, by the decrees of 1897, comprised thirty-two members, elected in districts containing a population of twenty-five thousand. The qualifications of electors are stated to be an age of twenty-five years, and a residence of two years in a municipality; but in another connection the decree disfranchises delinquent tax-payers, bankrupts, and criminals. Elections were always to be held on Sundays. The decrees ordered the erection of four insular secretaryships, respectively of grace and justice; of finance; of public education, public works, posts and telegraphs; and of agriculture, industry, and commerce. Finally, they provided for a reorganization of the municipalities and of the provincial deputation, a previously existent administrative board of little power.

On February 11, 1898, the autonomous constitution went into effect, and on March 27th, an election for councillors

and representatives was held. It is charged that the Spanish premier, Sagasta, had the elections so manipulated that his friends were chosen in almost all cases, and that cabinet ministers belonging to his party were appointed by the governor-general. On July 20, 1898, the scheme of self-government was launched, and the legislature met and ratified the appointments of secretaries made by the governor.

But the establishment of manhood suffrage and the inauguration of autonomy came too late to arouse the enthusiasm and loyalty of the people. When, five days after the installation of the new government, General Miles landed at Guanica on July 25th, there was scarcely any popular opposition to his occupation of the island; Spanish officials and troops feebly resisted his advance across the country, while the mass of the inhabitants greeted him not as a conqueror, but as a liberator. For the future their history was to be a part of that of the United States; and it was now the duty of the "great Republic", as they called their new sovereign, to assign to them government, or citizenship, or place in the American Union.

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JOHN HAY

From a photograph supplied by Mr. Hay.

CHAPTER V

AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION IN PORTO RICO

When under the terms of the peace protocol of August 12, 1898, Spain agreed to cede the island of Porto Rico to the United States, an anomalous administrative condition was created. The experience of the United States government in administering dependent territories had been limited to lands inhabited largely by American citizens, speaking the English language, and accustomed to Anglo-Saxon ideals of law and politics. Such territories received representative governments possessing a large share of local independence based upon well-nigh universal manhood suffrage; and both the national government and the inhabitants of the territory looked forward to the early admission of the dependent district into the Union as a State upon a plane of equality with all the existing States. But the facts of government and of population in Porto Rico conformed to none of the principles of American territorial government which a century's experience had served to formulate. The population of the island was much greater than that of any previous acquisition, and so densely settled that a speedy Americanization of the island by immigration was impossible; the language, laws, customs, and church organization differed from those of the United States; the people were less developed industrially and intellectually than the American people; and they possessed none of that racial self-control or experience in self-government which the American

system of territorial administration presupposes. Social and political power under Spanish rule always flowed from above downward, never in the opposite more democratic direction. Even the municipalities, supposed to be organized on the elective principle, were based upon such a narrow suffrage and were so controlled by the higher insular authorities that local self-government was unknown.

Consequently, the establishment of a successful government in Porto Rico could be attained only by a divergence from the past experience of the American government in ruling dependencies. This divergence might not be so great as that demanded in the Philippines, but it would be much wider than in Hawaii, where the English language was used, and Americans controlled the government and industries of the islands. Porto Rican illiteracy and political inexperience demanded from the American nation intelligent, sympathetic direction and supervision of all social processes until the time, when, under such education, its people should become ready for self-government. The American statesmen who realized this necessity, also understood the wisdom, both from an American and a Porto Rican standpoint, of limiting arbitrary power to a narrow compass, and of granting to the inhabitants of the island at an early date a share in their own government. Hence, while the American military government lasted over a year and a half, yet during that time measures were taken toward the establishment of local self-government; and on May 1, 1900, civil government, divided between Porto Rican representatives and American administrators, was inaugurated.

Military government in Porto Rico was at first based upon the absolute power of a conquering army during the progress of actual military operations. But as soon as territory was conquered and hostile opposition therein was overcome, the power of the commanding officers became limited by the accepted customs of nations in such circumstances. These rules of international law, summarized by the United States government in 1863 in General Orders,

No. 100, were later incorporated in the permanent "Instruction for the Government of Armies in the Field", and in somewhat modified form were issued by the war department as General Orders, No. 101, dated July 18, 1898. Ten days later, from Ponce, General Miles issued a proclamation to the people of Porto Rico explaining to them the terms upon which, under these military orders, the conquered territory should be governed. An analysis has already been given (in Chapter III), of the principal provisions of these regulations, and it will be sufficient here to state that, unless in the presence of direct military necessity, they guaranteed the ordinary personal and property rights to all inhabitants; they promised that the civil and criminal codes of law and systems of courts should not be changed or abolished unless inconsistent with the new order of things; but declared that political authority under the old sovereign, thereby including the power of all legislative and executive officials, should cease, or continue upon the sufferance of the military occupant.

No further general instructions concerning military government were ever issued by the Washington government to the commanding general in Porto Rico. He was permitted to use his own discretion in making innovations, for instance, in the system of internal taxation and the procedure of courts; in executive organization, in legal reforms, and in establishing popular suffrage in the municipalities; so long as these changes were conducive to the restoration of order, the administration of justice, and the fitting of the old to the new order of things. During the period of military occupation these powers of the commanding officer remained undiminished by any instructions from Washington, except that the postal service, the quarantine and marine-hospital service were placed beyond his jurisdiction, and that he received in January, 1899, orders to collect a certain schedule of customs duties upon goods imported into the island. The president verbally expressed to Major-General George W. Davis his hope that a civil

government would be established in the island as soon as possible, and on September 9, 1899, General Davis was directed to send to Washington for approval any orders which would result in the establishment of a civil government. Beyond these restrictions, the military commander exercised supreme control over the civil government of the island; and yet he was never officially designated by the title of military governor; he was simply the commanding military officer in that district of territory which, on October 1, 1898, the president had erected into the military geographical department of Porto Rico.

The military government of the island falls into three periods; the first, a period of actual hostilities, began on July 25th with the raising of the American flag at Guanica, and closed on August 12, 1898, with the signing of the peace protocol; the second, a period of technical war, but actual peace, lasting from the cessation of hostilities to the conclusion of the treaty of peace by the exchange of ratifications at Washington on April 11, 1899; and the third, a period of government by the military authorities in time of peace in the absence of any legislation by Congress, which lasted from April 11, 1899, to May 1, 1900. As affecting legal relations the change from the second to the third period is the most important, and according to at least one previous decision of the United States Supreme Court, that of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railway Company *versus* McGlinn, should have resulted in extending to the new territory some of the fundamental rights of inhabitants of the United States. But no instructions were given to the military governor after April 11, 1899, informing him what laws and customs of the island were inconsistent with American principles of government; and consequently, he continued to use his own discretion in retaining certain laws and institutions while rejecting or altering others. This policy of the Washington administration and the military governors was the only one which could prove a practical success; the immediate extension to the island of American

constitutional guarantees would have led to much confusion of administration and the laws, and probably would have brought greater injury than advantage to the individual. And although the Supreme Court later invalidated the lawfulness of the collection of duties upon goods brought from Porto Rico to the United States during the period from April 11, 1899, to May 1, 1900, yet the court did not declare void any of the regulations of the military commanders affecting internal affairs; and the fundamental act of April 12, 1900, gave congressional sanction to these acts of the military government.

On October 1, 1898, the president erected Porto Rico into a military department, and on the 18th of the same month, Major-General John R. Brooke received the surrender of the island from the Spanish representative. The Spanish governor did not remain to the last, but departed two days before his subordinate hauled down the flag of Spain from the palace in San Juan. In less than two months General Brooke was given the military command in Cuba, and on December 6, 1898, Major-General Guy V. Henry assumed the duties of military governor in Porto Rico. At his own request, General Henry was relieved of the position, and on May 9, 1899, he was succeeded by Major-General George W. Davis, who continued in military command of the island until the establishment of civil government on May 1, 1900.

The first problem facing the military government was the establishment of order in the island. During the period of the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, and for a short time thereafter, crime was common except in the immediate vicinity of the American garrisons. Companies of bandits pillaged shops and homes, committed arson and other acts of violence, and not infrequently murder. This "reign of terror", as General Davis calls it, was partly due to the disbandment of the military guards of the island after the Spanish evacuation, and partly to the confusion in the municipalities and courts resulting from the withdrawal of

the accustomed central control. During the period from July, 1898, to January, 1899, despite the efforts of the American forces to restrain acts of violence, property valued at several million dollars was destroyed. General Brooke had taken steps, on the day of the final removal of Spanish troops, to establish civil government. He issued the proclamation based on General Orders, No. 101, 1898, declaring the civil and criminal laws of the island still in force, directing local officers and the courts to continue their duties, and recognizing the municipal constabulary as an aid in restoring civil order. But the bandits intimidated the court and local officials, who previously had not been accustomed to act upon their own initiative; the criminals organized bands of marauders for purposes of blackmail, plunder, or revenge; and so terrorized the populace that it was impossible to gain a conviction in the civil courts.

After almost two months of such conditions without a single conviction of any of the criminals, General Henry issued an order establishing courts of military commission for the trial of grave offences, and by giving swift judgment and punishment where guilt was proved, the reign of lawlessness was gradually brought to a close. This object was gained not only with the aid of United States troops, but also with that of a battalion of native forces, and the erection of an insular police force similar to the old Spanish guard. By the summer of 1899 practically all the robber bands had been broken up and many of their numbers were serving terms of imprisonment.

Contributory to the attainment of civil peace was the attitude of the military government toward the Spanish court system. Owing to the disorganized condition of the highest Spanish court, the first important act respecting the judiciary was the erection on October 26th, of an insular supreme court. This was followed by the establishment of the courts of military commission; but as the authority to erect such courts in time of peace was questioned, the approach of the exchange of treaty ratifications led General

Henry to seek authority from Washington to proclaim martial law in districts where disorder existed. The general was advised to establish "provisional" United States courts, and not to resort to martial law, "unless such action is absolutely necessary." A provisional court acting under precedents established in United States courts when dealing with cases arising in territory previously acquired from Spain or Mexico, was therefore, erected by an order of June 27, 1899. By its simplicity of procedure and expeditiousness it had a beneficial influence upon the local courts and lawyers, who could not but be impressed by its practical advantages over their own system.

The jury system in the provisional court and the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* throughout the island were established by the military governor; but neither of them became a common judicial practice during the period of military occupation; the jury system was not extended to the local courts, and the significance of the *habeas corpus* was not understood. By dint of constant efforts and much discussion General Davis succeeded in having the Spanish members of his judicial board agree to a revision of the insular court system and of the Spanish method of procedure. By the orders of August 7 and 16, 1899, an insular supreme court of five members was established; below this were five district courts; and in each town there was a municipal court. All these courts possessed both civil and criminal jurisdiction, and an advance was made toward American simplicity in the system of appeals and in procedure. The personnel of all the courts, however, from the lowest to the highest, was exclusively Porto Rican.

Many changes were introduced by the military governors into the insular administrative system. General Brooke early recognized the cabinet system of secretaries established under the plan of autonomous government; but believing that the bureaucratic "provincial deputation" was "wholly unnecessary and incompatible" with the new administration, he ordered, on November 29, 1898, its

discontinuance, and the transfer of its petty duties to the secretaries of departments. General Henry disapproved of the cabinet system, and, in February, 1899, replaced it by four heads of departments who reported individually to him and received their orders directly from the military governor. This system continued until radically changed by General Davis in the following summer. Hoping to receive advice from all classes in the island, and to encourage mutual coöperation between Porto Ricans and Americans, he abolished the secretaryships, and substituted administrative boards each composed of several persons. Thus there was a judicial board, and boards of prison control, public works, health, charities, and education. Of the thirty-two persons composing these executive boards, fourteen were Americans, and eighteen Porto Ricans. General Davis also called to his assistance an advisory board of nine representative Porto Ricans, who assisted the governor in many of his plans for administrative reform. Through the administrative boards it was possible for the military government to keep in close touch with public opinion in the island, and the information thus gained served to prevent any hasty changes in law or government.

The first step in the establishment of self-government in Porto Rico, as in Cuba, was the municipal elections under the direction of the military authorities. General Brooke had recognized the Spanish system of appointive municipal officers, and while this policy was continued by his successors, care was taken that the two principal parties of the island should be represented in the town councils. General Davis, in the summer of 1899, determined to substitute popular elections for the appointive system. But he was strongly opposed to universal manhood suffrage under the conditions of education and industry existing in the island. Consequently the order establishing the elective system required that the elector be a male person of the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the island for two years and in the municipality for six months; and that

he have either paid a tax of one dollar between July 11, 1898, and October 12, 1899, or be able to read and write.

Between July, 1899, and February, 1900, an election was held in each municipality. In all cases United States military officers acted as presidents of registration boards and of boards of election supervisors; and in nearly all the towns, in order to secure an honest vote, the military officers, under orders from the governor, ignored the town mayor and his subordinates during the election. About five and one-half per cent of the entire population participated in the elections, the total number of votes cast being 51,650. The small size of the voting class was not due to any lack of interest in the elections, which, indeed, called forth an extraordinary amount of electioneering and political manipulation, but rather to the qualifications upon the suffrage, which the military governor had imposed. But the popular elections did not bring much improvement in personnel or procedure into the municipalities; the mayors as heretofore exercised undue power, and the minority in the councils, often ignored by the majority, retaliated by absenting themselves or refusing to vote.

These elections illustrated the growth in partisanship which had been an accompaniment of the removal of Spanish restraint. Never, previously, had the people been encouraged to take a part in political life, and elections, where held at all, were controlled by the governor-general and his friends. Throughout the island, writes General Davis in his first report in 1899, there exists the evil of "personal politics, which is one of the inherited vices here. . . . The whole art of politics consists in securing power in order to give offices to one's friends. It has been too much the rule here for office-holders to neglect the public interests and to blindly obey those who, having put them in office, can also remove them." Before any elective offices had been erected by the military governors, this partisanship had given rise to two political parties, called, respectively, Federal and Republican. A party platform was issued by the

Republicans in March, 1899, and by the Federals in October of the same year; but there is little apparent difference in the measures advocated by the two organizations. The Federals, however, favored municipal home-rule and made appeals for the vote of the laboring classes. From the first, the practice of the Federals has been strongly insular, and although favored with offices under the military government, they were usually in opposition to the administration, sometimes even resorting to open obstruction of its measures. The Republicans, on the other hand, almost uniformly supported the policy of the administration.

Preliminary reforms were introduced by the military government in the insular taxing system, resulting in the abolition of the taxes on the sales of food stuffs and on other commercial transactions, in an attempt to revise the valuation of real property for taxation purposes, and in the overthrow of the Spanish system of stamp duties. Some progress was also made in reorganizing the school system under a comprehensive school law issued in May, 1899, by General Henry. This required the abolition of the fee system, the election in each municipality of a local board of education, and a complete revision of the courses of study. The law probably was in advance of the administrative condition of the island, and its enforcement was also seriously hampered by the economic conditions following the hurricane of August, 1899. While the number of schools and scholars did not show such a marked and sudden increase as followed the early educational measures in Cuba, yet the action of the Porto Rican military authorities resulted in a raising of the educational standards throughout the island and prepared the way for the extension of the school system under the civil government.

An important feature of the activities of the military government was the inauguration of public works. The military commanders in the larger towns enforced sanitary regulations as far as was possible among a population utterly careless of such matters; and succeeded in cleansing the

public streets of these towns. The construction and repair of roads was undertaken on a large scale by the Americans. One hundred and fifty-eight miles of road existed in the island; the Americans promptly contracted for the construction of one hundred and twenty-three miles of new road at a cost of $1,892,000. The contracts were not always faithfully executed, but employment was given to labor at a period of hard times, and necessary additions were made to the insular road system. Lighthouses and buoys were placed along the coast, and the survey of the coasts and harbors was begun.

Porto Rico was visited by a disastrous hurricane on August 8, 1899. The storm, accompanied by a wind velocity of one hundred miles an hour and a rainfall of twelve inches within a few hours, struck the southeast coast of the island on the morning of August 8th, and before noon had traversed the length of the island and passed out to sea. In its track of ruin three thousand persons were killed, thousands of buildings were demolished, millions of dollars worth of property was destroyed, and the industries of the island were paralyzed. Only one-tenth of the coffee crop remained intact; plantain and banana trees, the great sources of food for the poorer classes, were broken off at the roots; while sugar, tobacco and vegetable crops were almost annihilated. The railway and road systems were severely damaged by the flood which accompanied the storm, and travel through the island except on horseback was almost impossible.

Realizing that months must pass before the customary food supplies could be raised from the soil, and the economic effects of the calamity be overcome, the military authorities took measures to prevent the general starvation which faced the island. Appeals were made to the war department and to the American people, and a system of local relief under direction of military commanders was inaugurated. For almost a year it was necessary in some districts to continue the issuance of the weekly ration to each person of three pounds of rice, three pounds of beans, and one pound of

codfish or bacon. Up to May 31, 1900, there were received in Porto Rico from public and private charity, thirty-two million pounds of food stuffs, and much clothing and medical supplies; which, together with the cost of transportation, made the contribution of the United States to the island about a million and a quarter dollars. In the spring of 1900 the sum of three-quarters of a million dollars, expended in road-building, was largely disbursed in wages to laborers. Agricultural recuperation was rendered difficult by the stay law of February 12, 1899, forbidding the execution of foreclosure suits upon real estate; and capitalists refused to lend money toward the rehabilitation of the sugar, coffee, and tobacco estates in the face of such a law. Gradually, however, the conditions were brought nearer to the normal, and the insular food production was so increased by July 15, 1900, that the issue of rations was discontinued. Not until the sugar and tobacco industries felt the benefit of the new American demand did those industries revive; and the production of coffee has never risen to its former position of prominence in the agriculture of the island.

During this period of military occupation the main purpose of the government was attained. Order had been restored in the island, the inhabitants had been taught to respect the law, and an attempt had been made to present to them American ideals of government. These ideals were, however, inculcated more by example than by actual statutory precept. Honesty, disinterestedness, the giving of an adequate public service for official salary, and the impartial enforcement of the law in all cases were the great lessons of the military government. It was left for Porto Rican and American administrators under the civil government to extend in detail many of the features of American law and politics to the island.

President McKinley personally informed General Davis that he desired the early establishment of civil government upon the island; and on August 15, 1899, the military

governor, in a public order respecting the reconstruction of the departments, stated his opinion that "complete territorial autonomy" might soon be given to the island, and outlined what, to his mind, should be the organization of such a government, resembling, as it would, the form of territorial government already established on the continent. He expressed the intention, whenever making changes in the insular government, to approach as closely as possible to this model. On September 9th, the general was directed to issue no order for the establishment of a form of government, or tending thereto, unless the approval of the secretary of war had been received. In his first report of September 30, 1899, General Davis, upon the request of the secretary, included a draft of a form of government for the island.

Both Secretary Root in his annual report and President McKinley in his message of December 5, 1899, advised Congress to establish a temporary civil government in Porto Rico. The most interesting feature of their recommendations was the absence of any elective representative body in the government; there should be simply a governor, and a council composed partly of Americans and partly of Porto Ricans, but appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate. The president thought it unwise to commit the entire government of the island to officers selected by the people because he doubted, "Whether in habits, training, and experience they are such as to fit them to exercise at once so large a degree of self-government." In Congress the house passed a measure to establish a lower range of tariff duties upon Porto Rican goods imported into the United States; and the senate took into consideration a measure introduced by Senator Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio, and hence called by his name, for the establishment of civil government in the island. In the senate the two bills were united, and on April 3, 1900, were passed by a vote of 40 to 31. In the house, with only a few hours for debate before the majority made use of the cloture rule, the amended bill was passed on April 11th, by 161 ayes to 153 nays. The act,

signed the following day by the president, was entitled "An Act temporarily to provide revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes." It has been described as holding the same relation to the insular possessions of the United States as the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 did to the mainland territories, and it deserves careful analysis.

Under the Foraker act the island is not designated a territory, nor, as suggested by General Davis, a "dependency", but simply the island of Porto Rico and adjacent islands. The governor, like the governors of the continental territories, is appointed by the president by and with the advice and consent of the senate, for a term of four years unless sooner removed by the president. The governor is required to reside in Porto Rico, the former Spanish governors' mansion being given to him as a residence, and his salary is fixed at eight thousand dollars. He has the power to pardon offences against the laws of Porto Rico and to grant reprieves in cases arising under the laws of the United States; he may veto bills passed by the insular legislature, but a two-thirds' vote of each house can pass the measure over his veto. He is commander of the militia of the island, he must at all times faithfully execute the laws, and he may be delegated by the president to perform such executive duties as the president is lawfully empowered to assign to him.

Provision is made for six officials, each the head of an executive department,—the insular secretary, attorney-general, treasurer, auditor, commissioner of interior, and commissioner of education; all of whom are appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the senate for four years, but subject to removal by the president alone. Each of these officers is left to appoint his subordinates and to organize the work of his respective department according to his own discretion, without control either by the governor or by the respective departments at Washington; the only check upon his actions being the removal power of the president.

The most singular part of the system of insular government, and the one most at variance with American customs, is the executive council; and in the power and position of this council exists the measure of American control over the island. The council is composed of the chiefs of the six executive departments, and five other persons of good repute appointed in the same manner and for a like term. Of these eleven persons, at least five must be native inhabitants of Porto Rico; and as a matter of fact, the six departmental chiefs have always been Americans, leaving the other five positions to be filled by Porto Ricans. Thus in practice this council has conformed to the policy laid down in the Spanish autonomous plan of 1897, by which the council of administration was to be divided between Spaniards and Porto Ricans, and to the advice of the president in his message of December 5, 1899. The executive council constitutes one house of the legislature, occupying a position of perfect equality in legislation with the house of delegates. In addition to this legislative power, the council under the organic act and under later laws of the Porto Rican legislature, possesses wide executive powers; it ratifies appointments made by the governor, approves of certain municipal ordinances, supervises elections, public health, charities, and correction, and has the unusual power of fixing,—if need be independently of the other house of the legislature,—the salaries of all executive officers not named in the organic act.

All these features of the system provide for appointive officers absolutely in the control of the American government. The Porto Ricans are represented in the house of delegates, a body of thirty-five members elected every two years by the people of the island. Seven districts were to be erected, and five delegates elected at large in each, the candidates not necessarily being residents of the district in which they stand for election. The suffrage for the first election should be determined by the executive council, a fact which led General Davis to believe that Congress

approved a limited suffrage for the first election. After this election, the control over the franchise was vested in the insular legislature. The legislature was empowered to amend or repeal any local laws in force in Porto Rico, to create and reorganize municipalities, and to legislate upon all matters not locally inapplicable, and not inconsistent with the terms of the organic act. All laws passed by the legislature should be reported to Congress which reserved the right to annul any of them.

The judicial power was vested in a supreme court appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the senate, and in courts already established by the military governor; but the insular legislature received power to legislate concerning the jurisdiction and procedure of the courts, and to establish other courts. A United States district court was also erected for the island. Public and quasi-public franchises and concessions were to be granted by the governor with the advice of the executive council, but Congress retained the power to annul all such grants. By the joint resolution of May 1, 1900, Congress provided that no franchise for railroad, street railway, telegraph or telephone purposes could be granted without the consent of the president; and imposed restrictions forbidding the watering of the stock of such corporations, requiring the regulation of their charges, and limiting the power of all corporations to hold land in mortmain.

In addition to erecting an organization of government, the act of April 12, 1900, contained several other important provisions. The Dingley tariff rates, with certain minor exceptions in favor of Spanish literary and artistic works, were extended to all goods imported into the island from foreign countries; and fifteen per cent of these rates was to be collected upon goods imported into the United States from Porto Rico or into Porto Rico from the United States, until the time when the insular government should make adequate provision by taxation for its civil expenses. It was directed that the net income of all duties collected in

Porto Rico should go into the insular treasury and that the gross income of the fifteen per cent duties collected in the United States upon Porto Rican goods should be held by the president as a trust fund to be given to the insular government when fully organized.

Other sections provided for the substitution of United States coin for the Spanish money at the rate of sixty cents of the former for one dollar of the latter; limited the debt-incurring power of Porto Rico or any municipality in the island to seven per cent of the aggregate tax valuation; and while forbidding the imposition of export duties, granted the island the power of internal taxation,—the internal revenue system of the United States not being extended to the island. A resident commissioner at Washington should be elected in Porto Rico every two years by popular vote; who, while not possessing a seat in the house of representatives, should be recognized by the executive departments as the official representative of the island. The house later conferred upon the commissioner the privilege of the floor and of serving on committees. Finally, the act directed the president to appoint a commission of three persons, one of whom must be a Porto Rican, to compile and revise the laws of Porto Rico, simplify its court procedure, and report "such legislation as may be necessary to make a simple, harmonious, and economical government."

Six days after the passage of the act, the president on April 18, 1900, commissioned Charles Herbert Allen, of Massachusetts, a former member of Congress, at the time holding the position of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as governor of Porto Rico. Mr. Allen proceeded at once to San Juan, and on May 1st, under the terms of the organic act, the military authority was surrendered by General Davis to Governor Allen. The appointment of the other executive officials had not yet taken place, and temporary civil appointees were placed in office by General Davis before yielding his position. Amid the shouts of the populace, Governor Allen took the oath of office at eleven o'clock in

the morning of May 1st, after which he delivered a short inaugural address, expressing the good intentions of the president and the American people toward the Porto Ricans, and calling upon the latter to use their wisdom and industry in elaborating the plan of government which in outline Congress had given them.

Between this date and the 11th of June, the executive offices in Porto Rico were filled by the appointees of the president. Judge William H. Hunt, of Montana, was appointed insular secretary; John A. Russell, of Illinois, became attorney-general; Jacob H. Hollander, of Maryland, treasurer; John R. Garrison, of Washington, D. C., auditor; William H. Elliott, of Indiana, commissioner of the interior; and Martin G. Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania, commissioner of education. The chief justice of the supreme court and three associates were Porto Ricans; the fourth associate was an American. The five Porto Rican members of the executive council represented the several parties of the island; two being Republicans, two Federals, and one an Independent.

During the six years which have passed since the establishment of civil government, two important results have been evident in the political history of the island. The first of these is the rapid adoption of American ideas and practices in political and administrative organization; the second, in truth somewhat a result of the first, is the growing feeling of restraint and dissatisfaction at the extent of American political control over the island, which has shown itself in the antagonism between the lower house of the legislature on one hand and the governor and American members of the council on the other. Both of these results will be treated here briefly.

On November 6, 1900, occurred the first insular election for representatives and for a commissioner to Washington. The executive council fixed the suffrage qualifications by requiring the voter to be a male citizen of Porto Rico, at least twenty-one years of age, having resided in

the island one year and in the district six months previous to election day, and who either could read and write, or owned real estate, or was a member of a corporation or partnership holding real estate, or who owned twenty-five dollars value of personal property. Much personal rancor was shown in the election campaign, and in true Spanish-American fashion, one party, the Federal, formally withdrew its candidates two days before the election and its members largely abstained from voting. The natural result was an overwhelming majority of Republicans in the legislative assembly; but the other result, so frequently following in other Spanish-American countries,—a contested election, rival assemblies, and revolution,—could not come while American officials were in control. The latter recognized the elected delegates and thereby taught the opposing party that its success must be gained if at all by playing according to the rules of the political game. On December 3d, the members of the assembly in a body paid their respects to the governor, and then repairing to their room, inaugurated popular government in the island by electing their proper officers and beginning legislative work. The labors of the new government can be best appreciated by viewing them topically throughout the whole period of insular government.

Of great importance in any political organization is the question of finance, and in this respect the new Porto Rican government was happily situated; not, however, in the ideal form of self-support, but rather in that the United States contributed to its maintenance. Acts of March 24, and April 12, 1900, provided that the net income from tariff duties collected in Porto Rico, and the gross income from duties levied temporarily in the United States upon Porto Rican goods should go into the insular treasury, either as general or as trust funds; and the organic act further excluded Porto Rico from the operations of the American internal revenue system. Thus the island had two great sources of revenue, customs duties and internal excises, which

are closed to the commonwealths and to the continental territories. On July 25, 1901, President McKinley, being notified by joint resolution of the Porto Rican legislature that a system of insular taxation had been established sufficient to meet the needs of the government, issued a proclamation declaring that the duties of fifteen per cent of the Dingley rates should cease at once, and that free trade between the island and the United States should be opened. This desirable event was brought about through the passage by the legislature of a comprehensive internal revenue law, signed on January 31, 1901, which included a property tax of one per cent, an excise tax on spirits and liquors, manufactured tobacco and other articles, and a slightly progressive inheritance tax. During the first eleven months of civil government the receipts of the insular treasury were $1,831,000; while in the last year for which accounts have been published, that closing with June 30, 1905, the receipts were $3,276,000. The income from internal revenue is proportionately increasing, while that from duties upon goods brought from foreign countries is almost stationary in amount. In the first year, internal revenue taxes made up but twenty-five per cent of the total income; and in the fifth year, they furnished seventy-five per cent of that total. Thus the insular trade to foreign ports has not grown appreciably in amount, while the island's advance toward self-support has arisen from the industries having access to the American markets and subject to internal taxation.

Intimately connected with the finances of Porto Rico was the change in the currency system enjoined by the Foraker Act. The organic act provided that the Porto Rican coins should be displaced by American money at the rate of sixty cents of the latter to one peso or dollar of the former. This rate of exchange was higher than the bullion value of the Spanish silver and consequently the pesos were readily brought for redemption to the treasury agents who had been sent from the United States to accomplish the exchange. Up to May 1, 1901, over five million pesos had been deposited.

Naturally prices, particularly in retail sales, did not at once adapt themselves to the new money, and for a time much inconvenience and loss were occasioned to purchasers by merchants demanding the old prices in the new coin; and this coming shortly after the great loss of wealth through the hurricane of August, 1899, led to a money stringency and some hardship in the commercial world.

American democratic ideals were a strong factor in the establishment of universal suffrage in the island. The opposition of General Davis to this policy has already been mentioned; and the qualifications prescribed by the executive council for the first election show that the council also disapproved of unrestricted suffrage. But the plan of the council was more liberal than that of the military governor; for, while under the latter the voters numbered scarcely 50,000, in 1900 under the council's regulations there were registered 123,140 voters, or about sixty per cent of the male persons over twenty-one years of age. In 1902 the legislature enacted into law practically all the council's election regulations, including the Australian ballot and American methods of registration. The only significant alteration made in the suffrage was the substitution of the payment of taxes for the property requirement of twenty-five dollars. But in 1904 all restrictions except sex, age, residence, and citizenship were abolished, thus establishing manhood suffrage. This law, however, contained a very important provision that the unrestricted suffrage should continue only until July 1, 1906, after which date no new voters should be registered unless they were able to read and write. If the insular government adheres to this policy,—and the conservatism of the American members of the council may be depended upon to oppose the repeal of the act,—Porto Rico will possess not only a wise suffrage qualification, but it will have an incentive to maintain the efficiency of its school system.

Probably the legal codes, the court procedure, and judicial organization of the island indicate the greater changes

made under American control. There existed considerable difference of opinion in the island respecting the advisability of changes in these customs and laws; the American officials were anxious to bring the laws into conformity to American practices; and a part of the population favored such action immediately, even petitioning the governor for its early accomplishment; but the lawyers and propertied classes feared the uncertainties of new legal codes and induced the Americans to make the changes gradually. Not until the fifth year of civil government was the adoption of American legal ideas completed.

The first act of the first legislature provided for the granting of jury trials in certain cases upon the request of the accused, but this privilege was for years rarely used, and when called for did not often result in the conviction of the accused. In the first year and a half after the institution of the system, not one jury trial was held in the San Juan district court, the most important trial court on the island, and in only twenty-four cases in all the other courts was the jury called for. As late as June, 1904, Governor William H. Hunt expressed the view that the system was still an experiment and largely unsatisfactory. Not until the Fifth Annual Report of the governor, that of Governor Beekman Winthrop made in June, 1905, after the adoption by the legislature of new court rules of evidence, does there appear to be a feeling of hopefulness respecting the jury system. The wide prevalence of perjury and lax laws against it, the absence of rules for simplifying evidence for the benefit of the jury, the clannish feeling among some classes of the population, the reluctance to serve on a jury or assist the government in the punishment of criminals, and, finally, the great aversion to sharing the responsibility in imposing the death penalty, all combined to make the administration of the jury system difficult. Only after the eradication of these evils and the growth of a stronger feeling of coöperation between the people and the officials will the jury prove a satisfactory adjunct to the judicial system.

The organic act had provided for the appointment by the president of a commission to codify and revise the Porto Rican laws; and accordingly, Joseph F. Daly, of New York, Leo S. Rowe, of Pennsylvania, and Juan Hernandez Lopez, of Porto Rico, were appointed. The commission made some preliminary reports to the insular legislature, which had little influence upon its work, and upon the expiration of the term of the commission in April, 1901, the insular legislature provided by law for a new commission, which, later appointed by Governor Allen, was composed of Messrs. Rowe and Lopez of the former body, and a new member, J. M. Keedy. Largely on the basis of their recommendations, the legislature in 1902 adopted a political code, a civil code, and a code of criminal procedure, based almost word for word upon the codes of California. In 1905 the Americanization of the insular legal system was completed by the adoption of the California rules concerning evidence, and by the establishment of American rules of orphan court procedure, including laws regulating testamentary and intestate proceedings.

Corresponding progress has been made during these years in the external organization of the judicial system. Frequent changes in court organization at last culminated in 1904 in a comprehensive judiciary act based largely upon American precedents. The five judges of the supreme court are, by the organic act, appointed by the president to hold during good behavior; and in 1905, three Porto Ricans and two Americans composed this court. The court is a court of appeals having full review of the law and facts, instead of being as previously a mere court of cassation confined strictly to a review of the law. The island is divided into seven districts in each of which there is a court composed of one judge appointed by the governor and council for four years. Below these courts are twenty-four municipal courts having jurisdiction in municipal districts composed of groupings of the municipalities. Judges, marshals, and secretaries of the municipal courts, and secretaries and

marshals of the district courts are elected by the people of the district for a term of four years. Justices of the peace are appointed by the governor in each municipality which does not comprise an independent judicial district.

Municipal reorganization early claimed the attention of the legislature. General Davis, before the inauguration of civil government, had established elective officers upon a narrow suffrage in the sixty-six municipalities of the island. In 1902 the municipalities, which, it must be remembered, include the entire island,—there being no rural lands not comprised within the incorporated limits,—were reduced in number from sixty-six to forty-six by the abolition of twenty of them, and the annexation of their territory to that of neighboring municipalities. In the same year, the internal government of the municipalities was entirely reconstructed upon an elective basis, resulting in a considerable diminution of the number of local officials, in the separation of municipal officers into legislative and executive, and in placing greater responsibilities upon the mayors and treasurers. The evils of attempting to govern rural and urban districts according to the same plan still existed, and in 1905, the municipalities abolished in 1902 were again erected, but this time with a simple and very economical form of organization. Local school boards in each municipality and boards of road supervisors in each of the seven judicial districts are also elected by the people. In 1905 the municipalities received eighty-five per cent of the income obtained by the insular government from the general property tax, and of this amount, they were required to expend twenty-five per cent upon public education.

Marked improvement has been made in the educational system of the island. The schools increased from 800 in 1900, to 1,098 in 1905, and the average school attendance in the same period rose from about 28,000 to 44,000; but even at this figure scarcely fifteen per cent of the children of school age were in attendance. The aim of the authorities, while extending the school system, has been to improve

the character of the instruction given, which, under Spanish rule, was sadly deficient in the features of real education. A normal school has been established, teachers' institutes were arranged, and in the summer of 1904 over five hundred teachers were sent to university summer schools in the United States. Some attention has been given to the organization and equipment of the high school at San Juan and trade schools, but the attitude of the authorities is well expressed by Governor Allen in his first report, "It is better that 300,000 children should be taught to read and write and cipher than that 40,000 should learn botany, chemistry, grammar, rhetoric and astronomy."

Economically, the island has been greatly benefited by its free trade with the United States. With the exception of the coffee industry, which, owing to the low ruling price, to low labor cost in other producing countries, and to the interval of time needed to overcome the disastrous effects of the hurricane, has not prospered, practically all the industries of the island are growing under the impetus of American demand. The total exports from Porto Rico to the United States have trebled in the four years closing with June 30, 1905, growing in that time in value from five million to fifteen million dollars. The exports of sugar have doubled in amount; those of tobacco have quadrupled; and the cultivation of fruits has received strong encouragement. During this time the wages paid for labor upon public improvements has risen about forty per cent; the government annually expended seven times as much upon public works as the Spanish government had appropriated, and three times the number of men were employed upon these operations. By June 30, 1905, in six years of American occupation, the military and civil governments had built one and one-half times as many miles of roads as the Spanish administration had constructed in its entire period of occupation.

Up to the present time (1906), three Americans have occupied the position of governor of the island: Charles H. Allen from April, 1900, to August, 1901. He was

succeeded by William H. Hunt; and on the resignation of the latter, Beekman Winthrop, on July 4, 1904, entered upon the duties of the office.

By changes and reforms in legal and governmental organization the island has been made to conform to the legal and political standards of the United States. In methods of holding elections, in court procedure, in processes of taxation and finance, in the enumeration of crimes and the fixing of their punishment, in educational organization and ideals, the island to-day has adopted the best from American experience. But the extent of these changes in formal organization has had its effect upon the political theories and principles of the Porto Ricans. They cannot understand why, if they are compelled to mark time to the American customs in all these respects, that the other American theories of inter-citizenship and of territorial self-government should not be extended to them.

To appreciate this feeling of restraint we must remember the extent of American control over the island. The governor, the six heads of departments, the five other members of the council, and the supreme court are appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the senate. Uniformly the six heads of departments, forming a majority of the executive council and the upper house of the assembly, have been Americans, thus securing, so long as American unanimity can be preserved, an absolute local check upon the executive and legislative functions of that body. This council, with its American majority, has the right of fixing the salaries of all the lower executive officials; and although it has always acted in this matter with the lower house, publicists believe that it is not required by the organic act to do so, but could by its own orders upon the treasurer, without an appropriation, direct the payment of salaries. The council also possesses the sole right upon the island to grant franchises to public service corporations; its power being subject to review in some cases by the president and in others by Congress. Thus the highest executive offices,

one of the two chambers of the legislature, and the highest judicial tribunal are controlled by the administration in the United States.

And yet, while the American government has sought to keep a closer control over this island than over any of the continental territories, or even over Hawaii, the people of the island within the last few years have developed a strong political consciousness and a propensity to party and factional affiliations. The tactics of the parties at first were what may be called Spanish-American politics. The Federals hoped to embarrass the administration by withdrawing from political affairs. In the fall of 1900 the two Federal members resigned their positions in the executive council, and in the election of that year the Federal party, professing to be dissatisfied with the apportionment and registration methods, withdrew its candidates, and induced its members to abstain from voting. Only 148 votes were cast for their ticket, while 58,515 were recorded for the Republican candidates; and 64,483 registered voters cast no ballot. The American authorities replied to this by recognizing all the Republicans and refusing to treat with the Federals. The president also appointed two Republicans to the vacant positions in the council, and thus it happened that the first legislature was practically unanimously in favor of the administration.

Controversies arose, however, almost as soon as the Porto Ricans appreciated the measure of American control under the organic act. Each session of the legislature has brought greater difficulty in reaching an agreement between the two houses respecting salary appropriations. A demand, consequently, has arisen for an elective upper house of the legislature and a territorial organization possessing home-rule features similar to those of the continental territories. Experience in political activities and realization of the patronage to be gained through a partisan council have strengthened this feeling. Governor Hunt, in his report for the period ending June 30, 1904, said of the Porto Ricans, "None of them would listen to any suggestion of change in the form of

government which would abrogate the present laws or do away with the freedom and rights which are now enjoyed. They want more, not less, self-government, with American citizenship."

Another embarrassing factor in the situation for the American administrators was the presence of nearly seven thousand persons who had chosen to retain their Spanish citizenship. These persons, according to Governor Hunt, owned in 1904 the greater part of the insular taxable property; he described them as out of sympathy with American innovations, and through their control of the influential newspapers as heaping ridicule upon the American policies. The governor hinted that the time might come when an alien land tax would be necessary to check the fractious opposition of these persons.

The Federal party, taking advantage of the growing discontent, and realizing that it could be influential only through the use of the ballot, entered vigorously into the campaign of 1902, polling about one-fourth of the total vote cast. Thereafter the quiet of the legislature gave place to strong party feeling; the party caucuses of the members met daily, and few measures were voted upon except with reference to the advantage of party and under orders from the caucus or the one or two party "chiefs" whose word was law. In February, 1904, the Federal party leaders believed the time was ripe for a new organization, and accordingly disbanding their party, they adopted a declaration termed the "Union of Porto Rico", and called themselves an "Association of Patriots", a name which later was superseded by the shorter one of "Unionists." They asked either for admission into the American Union as a State or the establishment of the island as an independent nationality under an American protectorate; and said they would be dissatisfied with anything less than the granting of definite citizenship and a full autonomous government for the island. Apologies were later made for the expressions relating to independence, which seemed to gain no popular support. But

the demands for an elective council and American citizenship were continued and soon gained recruits to the Unionist party. Governor Hunt replied to the request for a full territorial government by the statement that such a government would mean the national assumption of the customs and excise duties and thus cut off a very large part of the insular revenues. He believed, also, that the conservative interests of the island wished the American-controlled council as a check upon the political and financial excesses of the masses of the people.

In the summer of 1904 the Porto Rican Republican party affiliated with the Republican party of the United States, and its delegates were seated in the national convention at Chicago. But notwithstanding this source of strength, the new Unionists, with their cry of autonomy and American citizenship, were successful both in the insular and in the municipal elections. They chose twenty-five out of the thirty-five members of the lower house, and elected the officers in thirty out of the forty-six municipalities. After their success the Unionists demanded a sweeping change in departmental officers and the filling of all positions with Unionists. When the American members of the council refused assent, the lower house attempted to pass a civil service law requiring all present as well as future incumbents to pass competitive examinations. This also was rejected by the council. The governor, however, approved the proposal of the Unionists to obtain American citizenship for the inhabitants of the island.

Viewed from an American standpoint, an appreciation of the present needs of the island may be gained from the recommendations made by Governor Winthrop to Congress in his report for the year closing June 30, 1905, that full United States citizenship be extended to all Porto Ricans; and, in order to quiet the political excitement of frequent elections, that the insular elections be held every four instead of every two years. His remaining recommendations were chiefly economic in character. An import duty of three to

five cents a pound upon all foreign-grown coffee was recommended as a means of protecting and encouraging the development of the coffee industry in Porto Rico and Hawaii. The restrictions upon the holding of land by corporations should, according to the governor, be changed to allow corporations to hold as much as 5,000 acres of land, instead of only 500 acres under the terms of the joint resolution of May 1, 1900. He also advocated the dredging and improvement of the harbor of San Juan, the payment of the expenses of the Federal district court from Federal funds, and the erection of Federal buildings in San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez.

CHAPTER VI

HAWAII AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION

THE "Paradise of the Pacific" is the description which has been applied to the seven inhabited islands and five rocky islets, which, from the native name of the largest island, have come to be called the Hawaiian Islands. Situated within twenty degrees of the equator the climate is remarkably mild and equable; frost and snow are unknown except upon the summits of the highest mountain peaks; the climate is tempered by the northeast trade winds which for nine months of the year blow upon the islands, and by the cool Japan current flowing across the Pacific and bathing the island shores. With an average annual temperature of 75°, the range of the thermometer at Honolulu is from 55° to 88°. The annual rainfall, while varying greatly in different parts of the islands, and reaching the excessive precipitation of two hundred inches on Mount Kilauea, is, upon the average, moderate in amount, and measures about fifty inches. There is rarely much humidity in the atmosphere, and malarial diseases are almost unknown.

Semi-tropical vegetation furnishes the drapery for volcanic peaks, rugged valleys, and plains of lava; and, as the soil varies in different places from absolute sterility to inexhaustible fertility, the scenery of the islands is similarly varied. Desert-like tracts of tufa and barren precipitous hills give place in the valleys to all the luxuriance of plant-life of the lower temperate zone. There are no birds or

beasts of prey, no poisonous reptiles, and few insects. Agricultural products can be easily raised upon the fertile lands and they furnish almost the sole source of insular wealth. Thus in respect to climate, to flora and fauna, and to scenery, the islands deserve the title which has been bestowed upon them.

The Hawaiian Islands are situated between the lines of 18° and 23° north latitude, and of 154° and 161° west longitude; and, stretching in a curve of three hundred and fifty miles from northwest to southeast, lie about two thousand miles southwest of San Francisco. The total area of the islands is 6,740 square miles; of which the island of Hawaii comprises about two-thirds; the other habitable islands in order of size are Maui, Oahu, Kauai, Molokai, Lanai, and Niihau. Honolulu the capital city and principal harbor is situated upon the southern coast of Oahu. All the islands are of volcanic origin, and in lava tracts, geological structure, and extinct craters attest the manner of their formation. On the island of Hawaii there are four volcanoes which have been active in historic times; one of which, Kilauea, possesses the largest constantly active crater in the world; and two others, Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa, are each over thirteen thousand feet in height.

The inhabitants at the time of the discovery of the islands by Europeans are described as tall and well-formed, of an olive or reddish-brown complexion, with long black or brown hair, black eyes, and Roman nose. In physical strength they surpassed the inhabitants of the other Pacific islands, and in some respects were stronger than the American Iroquois. With advancing years there was a tendency to corpulency, which has been attributed to the extensive consumption of starchy vegetable foods. Intellectually, they were inquisitive, possessing high powers of observation, and considerable imagination, and, after contact with Europeans they proved apt in acquiring a knowledge of reading and of mathematics. They are further described as frank, impulsive, mirthful, and hospitable, but indolent, and in

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some respects pitiless, as is illustrated by the prevalence of infanticide and human sacrifices among them.

Similarities in physical traits, in language, religion and customs have led to the grouping of the Hawaiian people with the inhabitants of other east-Pacific islands,—the Society, the Samoan, the Marquesas, and the Friendly Islands, —and with the Maoris of New Zealand, under the general name of the Polynesian Race. This race differed considerably from the inhabitants of the Malay Islands and from those of the Gilbert, Marshall, Caroline and Ladrone Islands, whom they appear to have surpassed both in physique and in intellect. The question of the origin of the Polynesian Race has given rise to much conjecture and to conflicting theories based upon analogies of language and customs; but despite investigation and hypothesis, the origin of the race remains undetermined. The burden of evidence seems to prove that the race dwelt in the Indian Archipelago before its dispersion among the isles of eastern Oceanica, and that in the islands southeast of India it became acquainted, either by consanguineous or by contiguous relationship, with the customs and religious myths of the Aryan and other Asiatic races. Judge Abraham Fornander, in his work upon the Polynesian Race, would make the Polynesian more ancient than the Vedic Aryan of India, and in all probability his ancestor; but Fornander's theories are based almost exclusively upon the philological method, and have not been generally accepted.

It is clear, however, from analogies between the customs of the Hawaiians on the one hand, and the Aryan and Cushite customs upon the other, that the Polynesian Race had some contact with East Indian civilization. Hawaiian mythology was handed down solely by word of mouth, for the people did not possess even the simplest form of picture-writing, and in order to preserve the purity of these legends, the priests were accustomed to meet twice in each generation to compare the religious, historic, and genealogical facts entrusted to their memories. This mythology

described an early creation and Garden of Eden, the fall of man by eating of forbidden fruit, fratricide among the sons of the first man, a deluge and the salvation of man and pairs of beasts in an ark. Among customs accepted by the Polynesians which were similar to those of the early Asiatic races were circumcision, sprinkling by holy water, the recognition of castes in society, the existence of cities of refuge, and a knowledge of astronomy for the measurement of time. The theory has been advanced that these pseudo-Judaic and pseudo-Christian customs were derived from shipwrecked Spanish sailors, who are known to have been cast upon the islands in the sixteenth century; but this view is scarcely tenable.

The Polynesian year, composed of three hundred and sixty-five days, began when the Pleiades rose at sunset, and the twelve months each contained thirty days, the remaining five days being devoted to the gods. The Hawaiian language contains only twelve sounds, five of which are vowels. The frequent recurrence of vowels, often comprising distinct syllables, and invariably ending every syllable and every word, gives an open and liquid character to the language. The numbering system was a combination of the decimal and quaternary systems, the latter being the more primitive.

The religion of the Hawaiians was based upon a polytheistic mythology which, in its intricacies and occasional poetic beauties, displays a strong racial imagination. It was anthropomorphic in its higher aspects, but also included demons or gods possessing the form and characteristics of certain animals. Many animals and even plants, believed to be the residence of the gods, were thus made sacred to the religion. There were gods of function or process, who worked in the phenomena of nature or in the higher occupations of society; and, finally, there was an element of ancestor worship in individual families. This exceedingly complex mythology found external expression in idols, in stone-walled temples, in sacrifices of men and animals, in oracles or auguries, in elaborate religious chants, in the

organization of a hereditary sacerdotal class next to the king in rank, and in the institutions of the *tabu* and the *kahuna.*

Tabu was the religious sanction, the feeling of awe and reverence, which led to the social recognition of the sacred character of certain objects, and to the general observance of customs and practices many of which, without the *tabu,* would have been simply political, social, or ethical rules of action. It has been defined as "a system of prohibitions of an exceedingly complicated and strenuous nature, the violation of which was at once a sin and a crime, and was punished with death." The *tabu* usually took the form of the negative injunction,—"thou shalt not",—and was far more restrictive of individual action among females than among males. Idols, temples, kings, priests, chiefs, and sacred animals and places were all *tabu;* they must not be touched or treated irreverently; if the king's name was spoken by a person while standing, if his shadow was crossed, or his presence entered without permission, the *tabu* was broken and the death penalty was inflicted upon the guilty one. Women were prohibited by the *tabu* from eating with men, or from partaking of pork, of certain kinds of fish, of cocoanuts and bananas; certain parts of every dwelling and all the temples were closed to women. During regularly recurring or extraordinary seasons of *tabu,* absolute silence was enjoined upon the community, while all remained indoors with fires extinguished, and even the crowing of cocks or barking of dogs must not be permitted to break the sacred silence. William Ellis, in his *Polynesian Researches,* writes (Vol. I, p. 129), "The fires at which the men's food was cooked were also sacred, and were forbidden to be used by the females. The baskets in which their provision was kept, and the house in which the men ate, were also sacred, and prohibited to the females under the same cruel penalty. Hence the inferior food, both for wives, daughters, *et cetera,* was cooked at separate fires, deposited in distinct baskets, and eaten in lonely solitude by the females in little huts erected for the purpose."

The *kahuna* or witch-doctor was an individual supposed to possess the power of driving out evil spirits. The Hawaiians had many superstitions about the power for evil possessed by some persons over their neighbors, and the *kahuna* was a natural result of these beliefs. Sickness was usually attributed to some evil demon or witch; and the efforts of the *kahuna* were directed to driving out the evil influence from the body of the patient by lugubrious prayers and incantations, by violent sweatings and internal medicines, or by external physical severities. These practices more frequently led to the death of the patient than to his recovery, and give one reason for the heavy death-rate in the islands.

In political organization the Hawaiians had advanced farther than any of the other peoples of Polynesia. Their kings or chiefs with their families comprised a distinct class, which, on account of superior food and care in childhood, possessed greater physical and mental strength than the common people. The priests and *kahunas* made up a second class; while the laborers and artisans were subject to the other two classes, and were despotically ruled through the terrors of the *tabu* and the *kahuna*. The regal position, while hereditary, was not restricted to a single line of succession. The king was permitted to name his successor, and in the absence of such action, the chiefs chose the sovereign. The relation between king, nobles and people was a feudal one, based upon land tenure, the payment of taxes, and the furnishing of men for military purposes. According to President Sanford B. Dole, a primitive communal system gave place about the thirteenth century to this feudal régime, which developed until the sole title to lands was vested in the king and the tenure was dependent upon his will. This title was no mere fiction, as in European countries, for it became the custom for the monarch at the beginning of his reign to redistribute all the lands of the kingdom among his friends; and while this made little difference to the common people, it led to frequent changes in the economic position of the noble families. Below the head chiefs, who

formed a kind of royal council, the lands were granted out on similar terms to persons of lower rank, and by these again conveyed to others, until in cases seven degrees of land tenure had been attained.

The Hawaiians had neither metals, pottery, nor beasts of burden, three of the essentials to higher economic development. Their implements, made of stone, wood or bone, are described by the early writers as being manufactured with extreme neatness. They possessed no cloth or looms, but instead used *kapa,* the fibrous bark of a plant beaten out under water and pounded into sheets; or mats neatly woven of grasses and fibres. They manufactured baskets, fish-nets, utensils of wood and stone, bows and arrows, spears, and slings. Their canoes were often of large size, sometimes seventy-five or one hundred feet in length and capable of carrying fifty persons. Invariably they were built either with outriggers or in pairs braced together, and occasionally the stern was built high above the water. Houses were constructed of wooden frames covered with thatch or mats, containing only one room and usually erected entirely by the owner and his family. They varied in size from about eight feet square for the poorer classes to seventy feet or more in length for the nobles; and Ellis mentions buildings in some of the Polynesian islands which would contain two thousand persons. The Hawaiians constructed irrigation ditches, enclosed fish ponds where certain breeds of fish were propagated, and built stone-walled temples and enclosures.

Agriculture and fishing were the two principal food-producing industries. In the latter the islanders were very expert, and the early travellers give interesting and amusing descriptions of the many methods of fishing in use. In agriculture the cereals were unknown, and the principal products were sweet potatoes and yams, bananas, bread-fruit, sugar-cane, and the *taro.* The latter is a member of the arum family to which the calla lily belongs, and it is probably the most prolific food plant known. An acre of bread-fruit trees will support, during eight months of the year, ten to twelve

persons; but forty square feet planted with *taro* will furnish food sufficient for one person for a year.

Tradition furnishes us with no clue to the exact date when the Samoan, Tahitian or Fiji islanders crossed the hundreds of miles of intervening ocean and landed upon Hawaiian shores. But the people themselves possessed an accurate genealogy of noble families, the oldest of which went back forty-three generations to Nanaula. Judge Fornander, therefore, believes that the earliest migration of the Polynesian Race to Hawaii took place in the sixth century of the Christian era. This migration may have been the result of conscious search for conquest and adventure, or the last resort in voluntary exile of a party defeated in war, or possibly the accidental touching at the islands of canoes blown far out of their course by storm and trade-winds.

Governor Dole, in the Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society, thus describes their arrival, "We may imagine that the remnant of the freight of their storm-worn canoes included a few household idols, a live pig or two, some emaciated chickens, a surviving bread-fruit plant, *kou,* and other seeds. There were women as well as men in the company; the little children had succumbed to the hardships of the voyage which was undertaken to escape the indignities and confiscations incident to the status of a defeated party in tribal warfare. These people, lean and half-famished, gladly and with fresh courage took possession of their new world. As soon as they recovered their strength, they built a heiau [temple] and sacrificed to their gods."

For five hundred years the race lived quietly, and judging from the absence of allusions in the traditions, free from much contact with the people of the other Pacific islands. In the eleventh century, the islands were invaded by several migrating parties, probably from the Marquesas, the Society and the Samoan groups, and a period of savage struggle and conquest continued for five or six generations. After this period of exceptional voyages and military activities throughout Polynesia, the Hawaiian race appears to have had no

further contact with the other Polynesians until the coming of Europeans. A second period of five hundred years of comparative peace followed the years of agitation and conquest; and this repose was again broken shortly before Captain Cook's discovery of the islands, by a new spirit of strife and militarism among the Hawaiian chiefs. The embodiment of this new era, Kamehameha I., succeeded by European advice and methods of warfare in conquering all the other islands.

Captain James Cook, the discoverer of the Hawaiian Islands as well as of many other groups in the Pacific Ocean, was born of humble parentage in the village of Morton, in Yorkshire, on October 27, 1728. Entering the royal navy in the Seven Years' War after some years' experience upon coasting vessels, he gained distinction in the campaign against the French in Canada. Later his skill and scientific accuracy in charting the St. Lawrence, the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador won for him the naval command of the expedition sent, in 1769, to the Pacific by the British government to observe the transit of Venus. On this voyage, besides accomplishing the purpose of the expedition, Cook visited the Tahitian, Friendly and other South Pacific islands, determining their latitude and longitude, and as well explored and charted almost the entire New Zealand coast. After an absence of three years he returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

His second voyage, a direct result of the great geographical discoveries of the first expedition, was entered upon to determine the location of a continent, which, according to earlier explorers, existed in the South Pacific. In the three years, 1772-1775, he traversed the southern portions of the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific oceans until driven back by ice floes. Revisiting many of the South Pacific islands he set at liberty various domestic animals upon them, hoping thus to improve the condition of the natives, and to render it possible for them to furnish supplies to passing vessels.

On his third voyage, in the years 1776-1779, Captain Cook started to search for a northwest passage through or around the North American continent. Again stopping in the South Pacific to refit his vessels, barter for supplies, and land domestic animals, he crossed the equator and in December, 1777, entered the North Pacific for the first time. On January 18, 1778, he sighted the island of Oahu, and during the two weeks that he spent among the islands, remained upon terms of close friendship with the inhabitants and their chiefs. The people brought great supplies of vegetables and hogs to the ship, and treated the captain as a god, prostrating themselves as he walked on shore. The months from February to November, 1778, Cook spent in coasting the shores of North America from what is now Puget Sound to the Arctic Ocean. On November 26th he again arrived at the Hawaiian Islands, which upon the occasion of his first visit he had named the Sandwich Islands, after the first lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Sandwich, who had personally interested himself in the fitting out of Cook's vessels.

During the second visit to the islands the relations with the natives were not so amicable as they had been on the first occasion. Continual thieving by the natives, and the growing arrogance of the English led at length to a fatal quarrel. The natives having seized one of the ships' boats, Captain Cook determined to secure its return by taking the king hostage and holding him prisoner until the boat was surrendered. This plan Cook had used with success in some of the South Pacific islands, but here in attempting to seize the king, the people to the number of several thousand opposed him; and Cook, the last man on shore, was surrounded and killed in full view of his countrymen who crowded two boats near the shore. This event took place on February 14, 1779, and a few days later the expedition left the islands to continue the unfinished exploration of the Kamtchatkan coast. In August, 1780, the vessels reached a British harbor and the commander, Captain King,

reported upon the results of the expedition and the death of its commander.

Cook, although probably not the first European to visit the islands, as the Spaniards appear to have touched there in the sixteenth century, was truthfully their discoverer; and his work in charting the shores and islands of the Pacific, and in describing the habits of the people and the value of the northern fur trade, all served to turn the attention of navigators to that region. But aside from thus publishing their position to the world, Cook's visit was of little advantage to the islands. Indeed, one disastrous result followed his visit, the introduction of a terrible disease, which transmitted to posterity, has saddened the lives of many and brought death to thousands of Hawaiians.

Within a few years after Cook's voyages two influences of great importance in the future of the islands became apparent: the natural development of the recent military spirit into national conquest and absolute monarchy under the great leader, Kamehameha I.; and the growth of foreign influence, by which European ideas, customs, and vices were introduced, and incidentally Kamehameha received advice and firearms with which to carry out his policy of conquest and concentration. The aid of the foreigner, by giving the military predominance to one party, thus raised the internecine wars of rival chieftains to the dignity of true conquest, and permitted the establishment of a political organization such as has been attained by no other dark-skinned Pacific race.

Kamehameha, who has been called the Lonely One, the Conqueror, the Napoleon of the Pacific, belonged to the reigning family of the island of Hawaii at a time when the islands were severally controlled by different kings or chiefs. During Cook's visit he early appreciated the value of the iron weapons used by the foreigners, and in his bargains showed a desire to secure long knives and swords; and as chief he played a prominent part in the attack upon Cook. It was this appreciation of the value of foreign customs,

both physical and intellectual, which had much to do with his later success. Upon the accession of his cousin to the throne of Hawaii in 1782 Kamehameha headed a band of discontented nobles, defeated the king and killed him in the battle. For several years Kamehameha and two other chieftains struggled for the control of the island of Hawaii, during which time the conqueror found occasion to send an expedition to the island of Maui, where several districts were subdued; but instead of massacring the inhabitants or confiscating their lands, Kamehameha secured their good will by respecting their land tenures and their property. By this measure he received the name of "the good chief" and a reputation for fair dealing which aided him in his later conquests. By 1790, in a manner not directly related by the native historians, Kamehameha had become "moi" or king of all the island of Hawaii. His further conquests were thereafter greatly influenced by foreign assistance.

Seven years passed after the death of Captain Cook before any Europeans touched at the islands, and not until 1786 did two English vessels and a French exploring expedition visit them. Thereafter English, American, French, Spanish and Portuguese vessels, engaged in the China or East Indian trade, or in the seal or whale fisheries, frequently stopped at the islands; and soon a highly profitable trade in sandal-wood was established between the Hawaiian islands and China. Iron in bars or manufactured into utensils, guns and small arms, was the article of merchandise most highly prized by the natives. Two American vessels under command of Captain Metcalf and his son were trading off the coast of Hawaii in 1790, when a seaman was murdered and the ships' boat stolen and destroyed. Metcalf, with one vessel, put off to a neighboring harbor, where, a few days later, he opened fire upon the scores of canoes which had crowded around his vessel for purposes of trade, killing outright about one hundred of the natives and wounding several hundred others. In revenge the natives seized the small schooner with Metcalf's son on board, killed young

Metcalf and all the crew but one, and delivered the valuable parts of the cargo and vessel, together with the firearms and ammunition, to Kamehameha.

Shortly afterward the elder Metcalf sailed for China, leaving as a result of his visit an ugly feeling toward foreigners, and two very valuable adjuncts to the work of Kamehameha I., namely the military stores secured from the smaller Metcalf vessel, and the presence of two Americans upon the islands. Isaac Davis, the mate of the smaller vessel, had been spared for some unaccountable reason; and John Young, the boatswain of the larger vessel, was on shore when his captain so wantonly attacked the natives, and was detained by them. Both men were taken to Kamehameha, who accepted them as councillors; and for many years these men, particularly Young, advised and directed the king in both his military and political measures. To them must be given much of the credit for the subsequent advance toward civilization and political entity. Blackman (*The Making of Hawaii,* p. 68) says of these men, "Surrounded by barbarians, they did not suffer themselves to sink to the level of barbarism; they seem rather to have risen above their former selves, as being made great by the great obligations thrown on them and accepted. They were raised to the rank of chief, were given considerable estates, and were made the intimate counsellors of the king, Kamehameha I., whose powerful mind they instructed, and over whose powerful nature they exerted a most humane and beneficial influence."

Other foreigners soon came to the islands, usually deserting from trading vessels, and, attaching themselves to the various chiefs, gave them fire-arms and ammunition and even led their forces in the local warfare. Small cannon, which could be mounted in canoes, became a regular article of merchandise, and the native chiefs had their European gunners to care for the new weapons. But far different were the actions of Captain George Vancouver, who was sent from England in 1791 to receive the surrender of the

Nootka Sound territories from the Spanish. Vancouver as a boy of thirteen had joined Cook's second expedition under the rating of able seaman; he was midshipman on the third expedition when Cook visited the Hawaiian Islands. Although a severe disciplinarian, Vancouver entertained the most kindly sentiments toward the natives, and on his visits during the years 1792-1795 he did his utmost for the social and economic welfare of the islands. He made a temporary truce between Kamehameha and the chiefs of the neighboring islands; he brought about a reconciliation between that king and his wife; while trying to rid the islands of the presence of unruly sailors, he confirmed the king in his estimation of Young and Davis; he distributed the seeds of valuable plants, and landed cattle and sheep upon the islands; and conversed with the king of Hawaii upon the merits of the Christian religion. The British flag was raised on Hawaii, and Kamehameha, reserving undefined powers to himself, recognized George III. as his protector and sovereign; but as the English government took no measures to confirm this so-called cession, the islands were never considered a part of English territory.

Shortly after Vancouver's visit, the contest between Kamehameha and the neighboring chiefs culminated in the success of the "Lonely One." In February, 1795, he invaded Oahu with a fleet of unprecedented size, and in the Nuuanu valley, while the hostile warriors scrambled and fought amid crags and precipices, the army of Kamehameha defeated that of the native chiefs. By the close of the year 1795 the conquest of the islands was practically complete; Kauai alone held out for several years against the conqueror.

The form of government and of land tenure established by Kamehameha in the islands was feudal in character. The title of all land was vested in the king, and he reserved some tracts to be cultivated directly for his own private gain, while the greater part was distributed among his friends and held during the king's will upon feudal terms. These friends, or chiefs, let out the land to lesser chiefs, and these

again to others, until the real tillers of the soil were reached. Much of the product went to leisure and military classes among the chieftains, who, in turn, were held responsible for the preservation of order and the rendering of contributions to the general government. Kamehameha united in himself absolute political powers, including those generally distinguished under the legislative, the executive and the judicial functions. The governors of the islands and other advisers met the king at stated periods for secret consultation upon the needs of the kingdom. But although his government may have been arbitrary, it was, under the advice of Young and Davis and Vancouver, in the main a benevolent despotism. The king and his advisers acted upon the principle that a national sentiment could be built up only by the government ministering to national needs. While a large share of local government was kept in the hands of the chiefs, yet the king appointed four governors over the larger islands, who, in turn, appointed petty tax-collectors and other local officers, and dispensed justice in their localities. In other cases the taxes were collected directly by feudal chiefs; and on memorable occasions the king with a fleet visited the several islands and collected the tribute due him. In this way, by requiring tribute in sandal-wood, he gained almost absolute control of the trade with China.

Kamehameha retained the *tabu* system, increased its rigor, restored the ancient religion, and built temples to the titular deities; but on the other hand, in a manner somewhat similar to that of Peter the Great toward the Russian hierarchy, he checked the authority of the priests of the national religion, and developed the political at the expense of the religious life. Thus, while he appreciated the value of the *tabu* as a political means in the place of patriotism or of real regard for law, and took extreme measures to retain the popular respect for the *tabu,* yet in a broad way he undermined both its political and religious influence. His government was based upon modern ideas—upon facts of commerce, taxation, and internal development; and his success

politically was directly opposed to the idolatry and fetishism of the religion. In the same manner, the infiltration of foreign ideas, the realization that strangers violated the *tabu* without harm to themselves, and the scanty knowledge already gained of Christianity prepared the way for the overthrow of the *tabu*.

Within six months after Kamehameha's death in May, 1819, the national religious festivals, the ancient idols, and the politico-religious *tabu* were all abolished; and the nation, without a religion and having lost the salutary restraint as well as the iniquitous regulations of the *tabu,* stood ready for a new life both in politics and religion. The *tabu* was the first to be broken. The two queens of the late king, desiring to be rid of the many limitations placed upon their sex by the system, were the prime movers in the matter. They won over the high priest, who, acting so decidedly against the interests of his class, must have been guided by conscientious conviction; and finally the weak king, Liholiho (Kamehameha II.), walked across the room at a court banquet and deliberately broke the *tabu* by sitting beside his mother and partaking of the women's food. Thereafter throughout the land the cry went that the king had broken the *tabu* and lived; all made haste to follow his example; and the restraint of centuries gave place to license unbridled by religion and scarcely checked by the political authorities. The abandon of the people was heightened by the new fermented and distilled liquors, unknown before the days of the white men, which sailors and unscrupulous merchants sold to the people, and the manufacture of which certain Australian convicts had introduced as early as the year 1800.

After the breaking of the *tabu* the high priest, Hewahewa, publicly resigned his office, and began the demolition of the religion by himself applying the torch to the principal temple. Throughout the islands, temples and idols were given up to flames; and the great national religious festivals were discontinued. An uprising in favor of the native religion was,

in December, 1819, easily crushed; and outwardly, at least, the nation presented *tabula rasa* to the new religion about to be introduced.

Ten years before the death of the old religion, an Hawaiian boy, escaping with two friends to America, reached New Haven, Connecticut, where Professor Dwight and other residents of the college town became interested in his story, and cared for the physical and mental needs of the three youths. Joined later in the foreign mission school at Cornwall, Connecticut, by several other Hawaiians, the young men connected themselves with the first missionary expedition sent out to Hawaii by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This expedition, composed of two clergymen, one physician, one farmer, one printer, and two teachers, each accompanied by his wife, reached the islands in March, 1820, only a few months after the completion of the religious revolution. Expecting intense opposition from the devotees of a gross and cruel religion, known to encourage human sacrifices, the missionaries looked upon the recent religious destruction as almost a miracle in their favor.

Settling their small number in the several islands, rather than in one place, the missionaries found that the main opposition to their work came from resident Europeans and Americans, who were using the islands and their inhabitants for profit, plunder, illicit passion, and crime. These persons were in danger of losing their gains under a higher moral standard, and in many ways tried to influence the natives and European governments against the American missionaries. But the Hawaiian soon learned to distinguish between the unselfish work of the missionary and the sordid motives of his Caucasian enemy; and after years of self-sacrifice, a marked success was gained by the Christian missionaries.

At first admitted upon sufferance for a year only, the teachers were soon instructing the king and the royal household in letters and in Christian doctrine; in two years they

had reduced the Hawaiian spoken language to written form, containing an alphabet of twelve letters, and with the king pulling the first sheets, they struck off a small spelling book which contained the first printed pages in the Hawaiian tongue. The first Protestant baptism in the islands (two chiefs were baptized by Catholic ceremony upon a French ship in 1819) was that of Queen Keopuolani, the widow of Kamehameha I., in 1823. In 1825 the other widow of the conqueror, the woman whom he had appointed regent over his worthless son, and who was now all-powerful, Queen Kaahumanu, accepted the Christian religion, quickly learned to read the printed pages of the missionaries, and by her zeal for education had, in a short time, trained two thousand of her people in reading and writing. In 1826, we are told, a congregation of ten thousand natives was gathered to listen to Christian preaching.

After the death of the queen regent in 1832, a reaction against Christianity took place in the early years of the reign of Kamehameha III. (1833-1854); but later the king appreciated the social and political value of the teachings of the missionaries. In the years 1837-1839, a remarkable revival of the Christian religion, led by the principal chiefs, took place, in which fifteen thousand persons were admitted to church membership; and in the following six years, twenty-seven thousand converts were made. The religious policy of the natives was marred by one feature, for which the missionaries do not seem to have been responsible,—the persecution and exclusion of Catholics between the years 1831-1839. The restrictions were, however, removed in the latter year when the king issued an edict of toleration; and subsequently, under threats of hostilities from France, he granted the Catholics a site for a church building. The cause of Christianity met with varying success after the great revival of 1837-39. In 1863 when the American Board, believing the islands were Christianized, withdrew its support, the Protestant churches had 19,699 members. But shortly after this another reaction, strengthened partly

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From a photograph furnished by Mr. Taft.

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by the animosities of the American Protestant, the Catholic and the Anglican Christians, set in toward the old national religion; and in later years this belief was encouraged by the kings. But in 1896, 82 per cent of the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians professed affiliation to the Protestant, the Catholic, or the Mormon church; and of this total, 50 per cent were Protestants, 34 per cent Catholics, and the remainder Mormons.

The work of the missionaries, as has already been mentioned, included much more than formal religious instruction. The lists of persons sent out in the early years by the American Board always included others than ordained missionaries; the usual occupations being those of teacher, physician, or printer, although one farmer and one book-binder are also mentioned. In practically all cases, married men with their wives were sent to the station. From the first the missionaries did not hesitate to advise the people and their rulers upon any question of public or private importance; the wives of the missionaries gathered about the royal women, and instructed their household in needle-work and dressmaking, in reading and writing, and in literature; the men soon became lawmakers, or acted as the agents of the king in dealing with foreign countries; and, when the day for constitution-making arrived, it was Mr. William Richards, an ordained missionary, who was chosen by the king and chiefs to advise them. Not since the days of Cotton, and Eaton, and Davenport, had New Englanders seen such constructive social power exercised by their ministers.

In general the missionaries showed a spirit of moderation and tolerance in their positions of control over public sentiment. Naturally they were intolerant of the old idolatry or of the prevailing infanticide, or of polygamy, or the sensual vices introduced by European seamen and encouraged by the consuls of their countries. But aside from these objects of righteous indignation, few charges of undue aggressiveness or misuse of power by the missionaries can be

substantiated. How far the missionaries have succeeded in raising the moral standards of the community is a question. Savage races almost invariably adopt the vices of civilization more readily than its virtues; and in the struggle between the asceticism of the missionary and the sensualism of the merchant and sailor, victory, at least among the lower classes, has not yet appeared upon the side of the moralist. Nominally the greater number of Hawaiian natives are Christians, but their passions still lack the restraint which is the real essence of Christian civilization.

True political organization in the islands came first with the conquests of Kamehameha I., and with the order and respect for law which his strong hand imposed upon all the people. Under his absolutism, as already noted, the administrative machinery was simple. Its principal elements were the governors of islands, who directed the collection of taxes and the administration of justice, and, together with several other friends of the king, formed his advisory council. Written laws did not exist, and the king's will in any respect, was the law of the land. After the death of Kamehameha the chiefs met in council to decide questions of national importance, thus developing a deliberative body distinct from the sovereign and his personal council; and between 1823 and 1827, at least four such general meetings were held. In the latter year the council assumed formal legislative functions by the issue of the first written laws, including prohibitions directed against murder or infanticide, theft, adultery, liquor-selling and gambling. During the long minority of Kamehameha III. the nobles continued their council meetings and acquired weight enough to make their position permanent in the first formal constitution.

As early as 1836 the chiefs and missionaries believed the time had come to establish a written constitution, and accordingly the council sent Mr. Richards to the United States to secure the services of a publicist who could guide them in the new political and legal organization. Mr. Richards could obtain the consent of no prominent public

man in the country to go to Hawaii, and upon his return to the islands, in 1838, he was himself chosen by the chiefs and king to guide them in the new work. Resigning his position at the mission, Richards delivered a course of lectures upon jurisprudence and political science to the king and chiefs; and as a result of this instruction drafts of a bill of rights, a code of laws, and a constitution were submitted to the council. In June, 1839, the two former were adopted, and in the following year, the constitution was promulgated. These early political documents show, in their ideas and phraseology, the lack of legal training upon the part of the natives and their American advisers; for there was not a single lawyer in the islands at the time, and not until five years later did the first one arrive to assist in the codification of the laws.

The bill of rights declared that God had conferred equal rights upon all men and all chiefs; that some of these rights were those of life and limb, freedom from oppression, and the right to the products of one's hand or mind. The office of ruler and magistrate is said to be derived from God, but it is not right to make laws protecting or enriching the chiefs alone, without benefiting the people also; the latter are promised the tenure of their property, their lands, and building lots so long as they conform to the laws of the kingdom.

The constitution opened with the statement that "No law shall be enacted at variance with the word of the Lord Jehovah, or opposed to the grand design of that word. All the laws of this country shall accord with the general design of God's law." Freedom of religion, the protection of "every unblamable man" in "every good work", the punishment of every person bringing evil to the kingdom or to individuals, and a regular process for the trial of accused persons were among the first promises of the constitution. The kingship was declared hereditary in the family of Kamehameha III., although the latter was privileged to select his heir, and in the neglect so to do, the nobles should choose

the king. No land should be alienated by any person without the king's consent. It was the king's duty to appoint a premier, without whose concurrence he could transact no public business; and four governors of the islands, who should control the local systems of taxation and justice, and represent the king in all matters. The legislature was composed of a hereditary house of nobles comprising fourteen members with the king and premier, and a house of representatives chosen annually in such manner and number as should be appointed by law. By later edict this house was composed of only seven members. The two houses acted separately in legislation, but might at their discretion take occasional counsel together; and the king and premier possessed an absolute veto upon their actions. The judicial system included a supreme court, composed of the king as presiding judge, the premier, and four judges elected by the house of representatives; and insular courts composed of two or more judges appointed by the governors of the several islands. The constitution could be amended by regular legislative enactment, after a year's notice had been given to the people.

Shortly after the promulgation of the constitution, an English compilation of the laws was published by Mr. Richards, which came to be known, from the color of its binding, as the "Blue Book." But this collection, while well-intentioned, was unscientific, and within a few years its rules gave place to a more systematic code. In 1843, John Ricord, of New York, arrived in the islands, and was almost immediately appointed to the position of attorney-general. In 1845 upon his advice the legislature erected five distinct executive departments,—of the interior, of foreign affairs, of finance, of instruction, and the attorney-general's office. Later Mr. Ricord drafted two volumes of civil and political laws based upon the statutes of New York, which in 1846-1847 were accepted by the legislature, and formed the basis of political organization and judicial procedure down to the time of annexation.

At about this time an attempt was made by Lord George Paulet, commanding the British frigate *Carysfort,* to obtain possession of the islands for Great Britain. Paulet on his way to the Pacific had met the discontented Charlton, the English consul who for long had opposed the efforts of the missionaries to check drunkenness and immorality. Various quarrels and monetary claims were brought forward by Paulet, and the king was so wrought up that on February 25, 1843, he executed a deed of cession to Queen Victoria. For five months Lord Paulet ruled the islands, appointing officers and drilling military forces; but later the native authorities were restored through the action of Rear-Admiral Thomas, and in the fall of the same year England and France mutually agreed to respect the independence of the islands. The United States had already recognized their independent status on December 19th of the preceding year.

After the adoption of the first constitution in 1840 and the enactment under it of the organic laws of 1845-1847, there were frequent constitutional changes in the islands. The details of these several constitutions would not be in place here, but a brief summary of the course of political development will be given. The constitution of 1852 was drafted by Chief Justice Lee, who was one of a commission of three persons appointed for that purpose. Its great advance over the preceding constitution lay in the precise and scientific language used. The principal organic changes introduced were the appointment of the council of nobles by the king for life, and the limitation of their number to thirty; the provision that the house of representatives should not contain more than forty members, and should be elected by universal suffrage; that the justices of the supreme and circuit courts should hold office during good behavior; that the office of premier be retained in deference to the desires of the chiefs; and that a privy council, composed of the executive ministers, the governors of islands, and any others appointed during the pleasure of the king, should be erected. The suffrage under this constitution was extended to subjects

and denizens of the kingdom who had attained the age of twenty years, had paid taxes, and resided in the islands one year preceding the election.

Under this constitution, while the power of the king decreased, that of the foreigners was continually increasing. Although possessing the theoretical power to veto laws and dismiss his ministers, the king rarely exercised either power. The lower house at this time representing the interests of the commercial and missionary classes contrasted favorably with the council of nobles, which, under the life tenure, was becoming irresponsive to public opinion. Until 1864 the constitution remained in operation, covering the period of the close of the reign of Kamehameha III. to 1854, and the entire reign of his brother, Kamehameha IV., from 1854 to 1863. It was only overthrown in 1864 by the refusal of Kamehameha V. to take the oath to observe it. During the reign of Kamehameha IV. a growing opposition to the constitution was shown by the royal family and certain of the chiefs, which was particularly directed against the universal suffrage and the power of the lower house, both of which were being used by the foreign element to secure political influence.

Accordingly, shortly after his accession, Kamehameha V., ignoring the established legislature and constitution, called a constitutional convention; but upon reaching a point of complete disagreement with the members on the suffrage clause, he prorogued the body, and on August 20, 1864, upon his own responsibility, promulgated a new constitution. The constitution of 1864 contained many reactive provisions, but it was not so far-reaching in its changes as the foreigners had reason to fear it would be. Among other changes, it increased the prerogative of the king by abolishing the office of premier, by reducing the powers of the privy council, by giving him an absolute veto upon legislation, and by increasing his appointing power. In the latter respect, particularly, it gave to the king control over the local officials and through them a wide influence over all elections.

The democratic character of the government was also changed by requiring representatives to possess at least $500 worth of clear real estate, or an income of $250 a year, and by limiting the suffrage to subjects who owned $150 value in real estate, or held a leasehold on which $25 a year was paid, or who possessed an income of $75 a year; and all voters born since 1840 were further required to be able to read and write. The legislature was composed of one house, the appointive nobles sitting with the elected representatives.

This constitution, amended in 1874 by the abolition of the property restrictions upon the suffrage was not displaced until the year 1887, and thus continued in force a longer period than any other Hawaiian constitution. Under it two kings, Lunalilo, 1873-1874, and Kalakaua, 1874-1891, ruled the islands. The latter frequently interfered in elections, incurred useless and extravagant expenditures, intrenched upon the powers of the legislature and judiciary, and recklessly granted corporation franchises. A simple enumeration of these actions gives the best explanation of the revolution which was soon to come. At the outset, the election of the king by the legislature gave rise to charges of bribery, and the defeated factions started riots which were suppressed only by the armed intervention of British and American marines. The right of naturalization was so restricted that it was practically impossible for foreigners to acquire insular citizenship. The sugar magnate, Claus Spreckels, received valuable franchises for comparatively small sums; and the opium monopoly was sold by the king to two different Chinamen. Large sums were spent upon the king's coronation, celebrated nine years after his election, and upon the fiftieth anniversary of his birth. The liquor trade was utilized for political purposes, licenses being granted where they would be of political service, and in the election of 1886 large amounts of cheap intoxicating liquors were distributed by the king's agents. In this election, of the twenty-eight candidates for the legislature known to be favored by the king, twenty-six were already government

office-holders. The king favored the heathen practices, and even incorporated a society of the *kahuna* men, under the name of the Hawaiian Board of Health.

Kalakaua's reign was, however, noteworthy for the adoption in 1875 of a reciprocity treaty with the United States. For several years a feeling in favor of annexation to the United States had been developing both in the islands and in the United States. In 1875 King Kalakaua visited the United States and his commissioners at Washington signed a reciprocity treaty which after action by Congress, went into effect on September 9, 1875. The treaty was to continue for seven years, and thereafter indefinitely unless either party gave a year's notice of a desire to terminate the arrangement. By its terms unrefined sugar and other Hawaiian agricultural products were to be admitted to the United States free of duty, and American manufactured articles were to enter Hawaii upon the same terms. An important clause provided that Hawaii should not cede or lease to any other nation either lands, harbors or ports, or grant to any other nation the same privileges respecting free trade, which had been given to the United States. From this treaty dates the period of great insular prosperity. Thereafter the sugar industry, granted a ready market in America, became the principal source of the wealth of the islands. Possessing a soil more productive in the raising of sugar than probably any other land in the world, coupled with an abundance of cheap labor, the Hawaiian Islands were enabled within the next few years to reap a remarkable profit in which all classes to a greater or less degree shared.

But the growing interests of wealthy native and American capitalists led to their participation in the political world against the extravagance and irresponsibility of the royal party. On July 6, 1887, Kalakaua was forced to swear to respect a new constitution which attempted to destroy the power of the king over the legislature and judiciary by separating the three departments and forbidding any executive or judicial officer, or contractor or employee of the

government from sitting in the legislature. The cabinet members were given seats in the legislature, and while appointed by the king, could not be removed except upon a vote of want of confidence by the legislature. The king possessed only a qualified veto upon legislation,—a vote of two-thirds of the elective members of the legislature being sufficient to pass a measure over his veto. The legislature was composed of nobles and representatives sitting together, both of which groups, however, were now to be elective. Voters for the twenty-four nobles must be registered persons of three years' residence, possessing Hawaiian, American or European birth or descent, able to read the language of one of these countries and owning three thousand dollars of taxable property or having an annual income of six hundred dollars. Voters for the twenty-four representatives must be qualified as for senators, except that a residence of only one year and property to the amount of five hundred dollars, or an income of two hundred and fifty dollars were required. This document, it will be seen, was wholly in favor of the wealthy foreign classes. The property qualification excluded by far the greater body of the native Hawaiians, while the permission to vote granted to the European and American residents practically placed the control of elections in the hands of the American residents. The great body of Japanese and Chinese workmen who had come to the islands between 1870 and the adoption of the constitution possessed no political rights. Upon the whole nothing showed more clearly the trend in events toward American control, than the adoption of this constitution.

Kalakaua died January 20, 1891, and was succeeded by his sister, Liliuokalani. The husband of the new queen was John Owen Dominis, a man of American and Italian extraction and of moderate political views. Unfortunately for the political integrity of the islands, he died shortly after his wife's accession to the throne, and she pursued her reactionary policy until the American residents were roused to revolution. Liliuokalani did not approve of the

pro-American constitution of 1887; she inclined to England rather than the United States and sent her niece to be educated in that country. She revived some of the old native customs and encouraged the organization of the *Hui Kalaiaina,* and other semi-political, semi-religious associations of natives. In the face of protests from the better classes of citizens, she signed bills for the establishment of a lottery and for the introduction of opium. Her counsellors were in the main men of narrow statesmanship and of jarring factions even among themselves. The best that can be said for her administration is that it was intensely national in its ideals, encouraging everything which would strengthen the patriotism and national consciousness of the native Hawaiians.

In the same spirit she willingly received appeals from native voters and political associations for the overthrow of the constitution of 1887 and the promulgation of one more favorable to the native population. It was said that two-thirds of the nine thousand five hundred voters had signed such petitions. Respecting this sentiment in favor of a remodelled constitution, the queen says, "To have ignored or disregarded so general a request I must have been deaf to the voice of the people, which tradition tells us is the voice of God. No true Hawaiian chief would have done other than to promise a consideration of their wishes." In January, 1893, the queen made known her intention to promulgate a new constitution which had been presented to her by a committee of the *Hui Kalaiaina.* By this document it was proposed to restore to the queen the old royal power of appointing the noble members of the legislature; the term of the supreme court was to be changed from life tenure to six years; and voters must be subjects of the kingdom, possessed of a moderate property qualification and able to read and write.

The avowed intentions of the queen in favor of native customs, native religion, and native political control aroused the American commercial and missionary classes against her.

Her cabinet, on the day announced for the promulgation of the new constitution, refused to consent to it, and on January 14, 1893, a "Citizens' Committee of Safety" was appointed by a meeting of prominent citizens and residents opposed to the queen's policy. Military preparations were made and plans drafted for a provisional government. Two days later upon the request of the United States Minister John L. Stevens, one hundred and sixty marines were landed from the American warship *Boston,* for the ostensible purpose of protecting the lives and property of American residents. On the following day, January 17th, a proclamation was issued by the revolutionists declaring the Hawaiian monarchy abolished; establishing a provisional government composed of an executive council of four members and an advisory council of fourteen members possessing legislative powers; requesting all office-holders except the queen and the cabinet members to retain their positions and continue in the exercise of their functions; and declaring all Hawaiian laws, not inconsistent with the proclamation, to be still in force. The president of the executive council was Sanford B. Dole, and the other members were J. A. King, P. C. Jones, and W. O. Smith.

A demand was now made that the queen abdicate her throne, but refusing to do this, and intimidated by the presence of the United States naval forces and large bodies of armed volunteers, Liliuokalani signed a document in which she protested against all the acts of the Provisional Government. She agreed, however, because of the presence of the superior force of the United States troops which Minister Stevens had avowed would be used to support the Provisional Government, to surrender the government "until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives." Minister Stevens, always strongly favoring annexation, acknowledged the new government within an hour after its promulgation. Commissioners from the Provisional Government were at once sent to Washington

to secure a treaty of annexation of the islands; the queen also sent a representative to Washington and directed appeals to President Harrison and President-elect Cleveland.

There was no forcible opposition to the new government; the ordinary departments of government were conducted as previously; and the provisional councils leisurely proceeded to the calling of a constitutional convention, composed partly of themselves and partly of elective delegates. On July 4, 1894, the fifth constitution of the islands was promulgated. It provided for a republican form of government, with a president chosen every six years by joint vote of the two houses of the legislature, and it named Sanford B. Dole as president until December 31, 1900. The president was assisted and controlled by a cabinet modelled after American precedents rather than the English system which had previously existed. It differed from the American cabinet in that a majority vote of the cabinet was binding upon the president. The legislature was bicameral, the lower house being elected by voters who were citizens or foreigners enjoying the rights of citizens, who had paid taxes and could speak, read and write the English or Hawaiian language; while the suffrage for the upper house was limited to those owning real property of the value of $1,500, or personal property valued at $3,000, or possessing an annual income of $600. A remarkable provision, showing the desire of the Provisional Government to keep the support of resident foreigners, was the granting of all the rights of citizens to persons who had favored the new government, while permitting them to retain their allegiance to their native country.

Under this constitution the Republic of Hawaii was governed until the days of annexation. There can be no doubt that, like the constitution of 1887, it favored American and other foreign residents at the expense of the native population. The number of voters was cut down from about thirteen thousand in 1890, to only 4,477 in 1894. In 1896, the number of persons who actually voted both for senators and representatives, was 2,017, while 1,179 more were qualified

to vote for representatives alone. In other words, under the republic the voters were one-fourth as numerous as under the monarchy. After many years of intellectual and financial leadership by the American residents, their position had at last obtained an objective political reality in the constitution of 1894. It remained for them to complete the plans already laid for the annexation of the islands to the United States.

CHAPTER VII

HAWAII AN AMERICAN TERRITORY

THE annexation of the Hawaiian Islands was a more natural procedure than in the case of the acquisition of any other Pacific territory by the United States. An accident of war brought the Philippines into the American political organization; the difficulties of joint international control led to the occupation of the island of Tutuila in Samoa; and in Alaska at the time of cession, neither American institutions nor American population could be found. But in Hawaii there was a community which drew the best features of its life from America; its laws and constitutions, its Christian belief, its business methods, its progressive population were all products of the intercourse of the islands with the United States. From at least 1820 onward Americans exercised an influence which was greater than that of any other nation, and which dominated the councils of kings and chiefs. Legally and socially the annexation of Hawaii was more logical than the occupation of Porto Rico; while in both cases the United States acted as a complementary force in the insular industries, drawing the needed agricultural products to its markets and sending manufactured goods to the islands. Economically, Hawaii, thirty years ago, passed through the stage which Porto Rico is now witnessing: the process leading to the remarkable growth of wealth through the American demand for cane sugar.

So strong were the intellectual and commercial ties of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States that at an early date the development of a formal political union of the islands was anticipated. In 1826 Hawaii's first treaty with a foreign state was made with the United States. In the years 1839, 1851 and 1853, while entangled in difficulties with European states, the Hawaiian king offered to cede his territory to the United States, and in the latter year a formal treaty of annexation was drafted, which, but for the king's death, probably would have received his approval.

The paramount interests of the United States in the islands and the manifest destiny of annexation have been frequently recognized by American statesmen. Tyler, in 1842, expressed the opinion that five-sixths of the vessels entering Hawaiian ports were American, and that no European nation could colonize the islands or subvert the native government without dissatisfaction upon the part of the United States. Fillmore expressed the same opinion; Pierce openly favored annexation; and Johnson believed that the people of the islands would "at no distant day, voluntarily apply for admission into the Union." Arthur, through his secretary of state, Blaine, expressed the opinion that the islands were "the key to dominion of the American Pacific."

For a full generation after 1840, therefore, annexation had been frequently mooted and was popularly believed to be inevitable. The first formal step toward American control of the islands came in 1875 with the ratification of a reciprocity treaty. This treaty, as has already been mentioned, opened American markets to Hawaiian agricultural produce and proved the beginning of a still more intimate economic dependence of the islands upon the United States. In addition to its economic clauses, the treaty contained the provision, expressive of American predominance in the islands, that, during the continuance of the treaty, no cession of land should be made by the Hawaiian government to any other government, nor should the same trade privileges be granted to any other country. On November 9, 1887, the

treaty was extended for seven years, and the harbor of Pearl River was given to the United States for its exclusive use as a coaling and naval station. The latter cession meant American naval control of the islands, for the Pearl River Harbor is the only port capable of adequate fortification within the archipelago.

Thus American commercial and naval supremacy in Hawaii were legally established. The position of the United States is illustrated by its action in 1881, when England under the "most favored nation" clauses of her treaties demanded privileges equal to those granted to the United States. Secretary of State Blaine, in the correspondence growing out of this question, stated that the position of the Hawaiian Islands demanded their benevolent neutrality toward the United States, and when such an attitude was found impossible by Hawaii, the American government would meet the new situation "by seeking an avowedly American solution" of the difficulty. Commercially, said he, "the reciprocity treaty makes them practically members of an American *zollverein,* an outlying district of the State of California."

Again, in 1888, the American government was desired by England and Germany to join them in a joint guaranty of the neutrality of the islands. This offer was rejected by President Cleveland and Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard. The latter, in commenting upon the matter nine years later, said, "The obvious course was to wait quietly and patiently and let the islands fill up with American planters and American industries until they should be wholly identified in business interests and political sympathies with the United States. It was simply a matter of waiting until the apple should ripen and fall."

Against this natural tendency, appreciated as almost inevitable by Americans at home and in Hawaii, the policy of King Kalakaua and of Queen Liliuokalani came as an opposing force. Their attempt to revive native control, although the native population was rapidly declining in

number, led to the use of force by the foreigners. In the early part of 1887 the foreigners and the "missionary party", as the friends of good government and American control were called, started a secret political society, imported arms, and drilled a volunteer company called "the Rifles." With a mere show of force they compelled Kalakaua to accept the new constitution of 1887, and to reform at least his political habits. A similar movement, opposed to the native policy of Queen Liliuokalani, resulted in the revolution of 1893.

The revolutionists were encouraged by the actions of Minister John L. Stevens who appears to have been ambitious of accomplishing the annexation of the islands during his tenure of office. In November, 1892, he addressed a lengthy letter to the American secretary of state in which he elaborately argued in favor of annexation upon moral, political, and economical grounds. As early as March, 1892, he contemplated the possibility of overturning the government by an orderly and peaceable revolution, and wished instructions as to "how far the present minister and naval commander may deviate from established international rules and precedents." Within an hour after the proclamation of the Provisional Government, on January 17th, he had recognized it as the lawful Hawaiian government, and on February 1st, upon the request of the Provisional Government he raised the American flag in Honolulu and declared the existence of an American protectorate over the islands. On the same day he wrote to the State Department, "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it."

Fully as strong an interest in annexation was felt by the Provisional Government as by the United States minister. The proclamation made in the afternoon of January 17, 1893, contained the condition that the Provisional Government should "exist until terms of union with the United States had been negotiated and agreed upon." Two days later a specially chartered steamer carried commissioners from the Provisional Government to the United States, who

arrived in Washington on February 3d. Eleven days sufficed for the completion of a treaty, and on the 15th it was transmitted by President Harrison to the Senate. The Senate, however, took no action upon the annexation treaty before March 4th, and in the following special session, President Cleveland withdrew the treaty.

James H. Blount, of Georgia, was appointed by the president as special commissioner to Hawaii, with power to reverse any of the acts of the American officers respecting the recent revolution. He immediately ordered the American flag lowered and the American troops removed, and after an investigation reported that the acts of Minister Stevens were an unwarranted interference with the rights of the existing government, and that Liliuokalani was the lawful sovereign of the islands. President Cleveland agreed with the conclusions of Mr. Blount, and, after accepting the resignation of Minister Stevens, he appointed Albert S. Willis to the position.

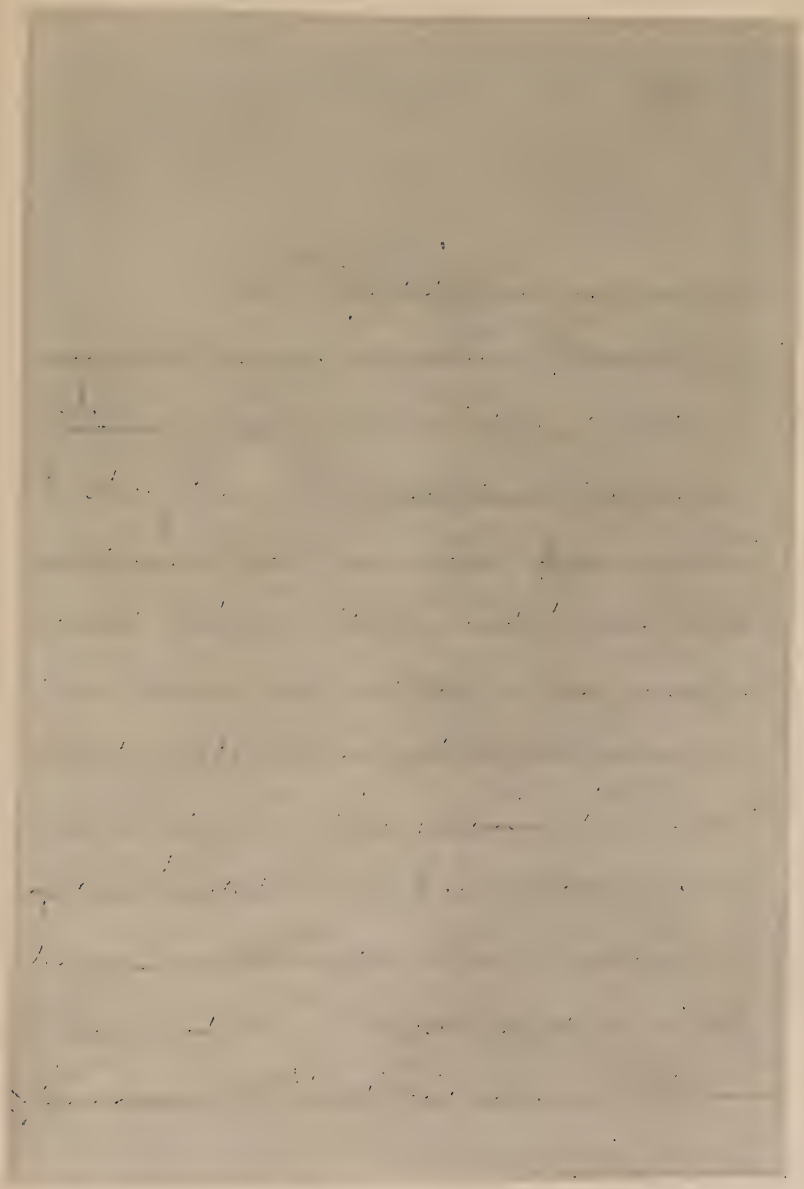
The latter arrived in Honolulu November 4, 1893, and after being received by the Provisional Government to which he was accredited, at once communicated with Liliuokalani, expressing to her the president's desire to restore her government if she were willing to grant complete amnesty to all engaged in the revolution. To this she demurred, saying the penalty of death must by the law be inflicted upon traitors. A month later she withdrew her objection and agreed to pardon all involved in the revolution.

Minister Willis now turned his attention to the Provisional Government, and on December 20th, requested President Dole to consider the part played in the revolution by the United States troops and minister, and that this action was now disavowed by President Cleveland. Accordingly, he asked the Provisional Government to relinquish to the queen her constitutional authority and inquired if they were not willing to abide by the decision of the President of the United States. An emphatic negative was given to this question. President Dole denied that the revolution

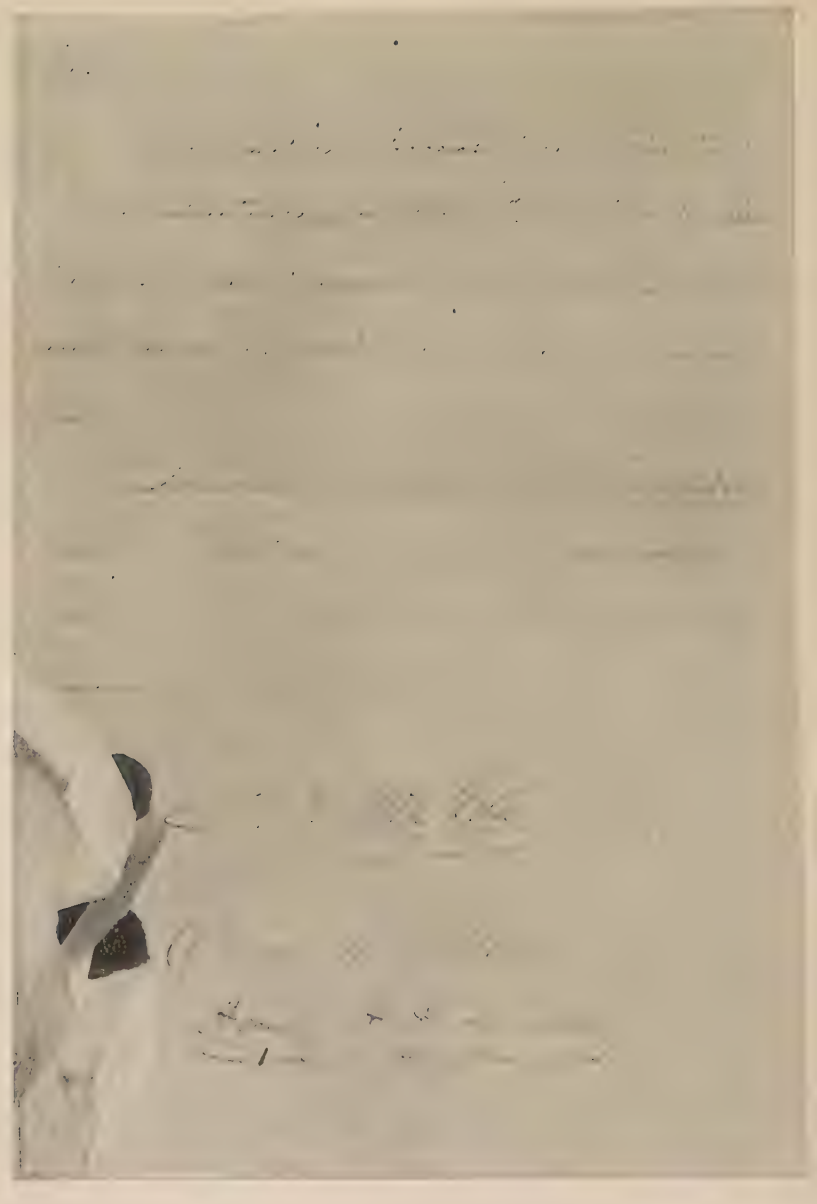
was accomplished by the presence of United States troops; he averred that it was due to natural forces similar to those which had made King Kalakaua responsible to public sentiment in 1887, and he unhesitatingly refused to surrender the government to the queen. President Cleveland and Minister Willis claimed no power to restore the queen by force, and in the winter of 1894, the whole matter was referred by the president to the "broader authority and discretion of the Congress."

During January and February, 1894, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations conducted an investigation of the Hawaiian revolution, and on February 26th, Senator John T. Morgan presented an elaborate report. This report exculpated President Harrison from the charges of undue haste in making a treaty of annexation, and President Cleveland from the accusation of unwarranted actions in his attempt to restore Liliuokalani; it freed Minister Stevens from the charges of assisting the revolution, and only mildly censured him for proclaiming an American protectorate over the islands. The committee seemed content to exonerate everyone connected with the affair, so long as the *status quo* was maintained. The formal diplomatic recognition of the new government had been continuous since January 17, 1893; Minister Stevens had recognized that government; a treaty of annexation had been made with it; Commissioner Blount and Minister Willis had been accredited to it. The position of the Provisional Government was further strengthened by the passage on May 31, 1894, of the "Turpie Resolution", which declared that the sole right of establishing and maintaining their governmental policy rested with the Hawaiian people, that the United States should not interfere therein, and that the interference of any other nation would be looked upon as an act unfriendly to the United States. In this position the matter rested for three years.

Meanwhile in the islands annexation societies were formed, and petitions favoring union with the United States were circulated. Liliuokalani makes the claim that the death of



First and last pages of a treaty, dated January 30, 1875, providing for commercial reciprocity with the Hawaiian Islands.



Minister Stevens's daughter took place while she was journeying to secure signatures to such a document. The constitution of July 4, 1894, establishing the Republic of Hawaii, contained a clause authorizing the president and cabinet of the republic to make a treaty, subject to the ratification of the Hawaiian senate, for a political or commercial union with the United States. In January, 1895, a native uprising against the republic was easily crushed.

One result of this native movement was the abdication of Liliuokalani on January 24th. Later she was arrested, tried, and convicted of misprision of treason, and confined amid comfortable surroundings for about six months. Released at first upon parole, and later restricted to the island of Oahu, she received full liberty in October, 1896. Shortly afterward, she visited the United States and presented petitions from native Hawaiians to President Cleveland, and on June 17, 1897, she sent a protest to the state department against the ratification of the treaty of annexation which President McKinley had, on the preceding day, sent to the Senate.

A new treaty of annexation was drawn up on June 16, 1897, by John Sherman, and the Hawaiian representatives, Francis M. Hatch, Lorrin A. Thurston, and William A. Kinney. In his message transmitting the treaty to the Senate, President McKinley spoke of the incorporation of the islands into the body politic of the United States as a "necessary and fitting sequel" to the long association of the two countries. "From 1820 to 1893 the course of the United States toward the Hawaiian Islands has consistently favored their autonomous welfare, with the exclusion of all foreign influence save our own, to the extent of upholding eventual annexation as the necessary outcome of that policy. Under such circumstances, annexation is not a change. It is a consummation."

The treaty provided for the cession to the United States of all the sovereign rights of the Hawaiian government, and for the annexation of the islands under the name of the Territory of Hawaii. All government lands, buildings and

other public property should be ceded to the United States, but the land laws of the United States should not be extended to the islands, and the revenues derived from public lands were to be used solely for the benefit of the inhabitants of the islands in educational and other public purposes. The government of the islands, until Congress should legislate upon the matter, should be exercised in such manner as the president of the United States should direct. All treaties with foreign states should be displaced by the existing treaties of the United States, but the existing customs relations of the islands to the United States and other countries should continue until congressional action was taken. The public debt, in a sum not greater than four million dollars, was to be assumed by the United States; further immigration of Chinese into the islands or from the islands to the United States was forbidden; and the president should appoint five commissioners, at least two of whom were to be residents of Hawaii, to recommend to Congress fitting legislation for the islands.

The requisite majority in the Senate could not be obtained, and when the war with Spain seemed imminent, the treaty had not yet been acted upon by the Senate. With the outbreak of the war and the news of Dewey's victory at Manila, the strategic importance of the islands came to be appreciated. President Dole, instead of proclaiming the neutrality of the islands, offered the use of Hawaiian harbors to the United States and proposed a treaty of alliance. Meanwhile, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, basing its action upon the precedent established in the annexation of Texas in 1845, reported in favor of a joint-resolution embodying the terms of the treaty of June, 1897. On May 4th, Francis G. Newlands, of Nevada, introduced a similar joint-resolution in the House, which, on June 15th, passed the House by a vote of 209 to 91. On July 6th the Senate agreed to the Newlands resolution and on the following day the bill became effective through the signature of the president.

On August 12, 1898, the formal surrender of the islands to the United States took place, President Dole upon the part of the Hawaiian people yielding sovereignty to the United States Minister, Harold M. Sewall. The flag which Commissioner Blount in 1894 had hauled down was now raised upon the Government House in Honolulu; and a proclamation of the president was read directing all the officials of the Republic of Hawaii to hold office until Congress should establish a form of government for the territory. President Dole, the officers, and troops of the republic then took an oath of allegiance to the United States. In this way, subject only to the removal power of the president, the administrative functions and officials continued uninterrupted by the change of sovereignty.

Under the provisions of the Newlands Resolution, the president appointed Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois, John T. Morgan, of Alabama, Robert R. Hitt, of Illinois, and Sanford B. Dole and Walter F. Frear, of Hawaii, as members of the commission to report to Congress necessary legislation respecting Hawaii. The commission met in Honolulu on August 18, 1898, and during several weeks following that date, holding their sessions in public and accepting papers and petitions from individuals and associations. Their report, sent by the president to Congress on December 6, 1898, contained a description of the population, agriculture, commerce, education, and legal systems of Hawaii, a draft of an elaborate territorial act, and a code of civil and criminal law based upon the existing digests.

Pursuant to the advice of the commission, action upon a territorial bill was not taken by the Fifty-fifth Congress; but the succeeding Congress passed such a measure and on April 30, 1900, it was signed by the president. The act follows remarkably closely the draft of a bill presented by the commission, evincing thereby the trust reposed by the houses in the wisdom of the five commissioners. In a bill of over a hundred sections only three important changes were made by Congress. They were, first the abolition of

the property qualification for voters and for members of the territorial legislature; secondly, the inclusion of a restriction upon the territorial government prohibiting it from enforcing any contracts for services or labor, except where they are brought simply as civil suits for pecuniary damages; and thirdly, the placing of the removal power over territorial officers in the hands of the governor and senate, instead of in the governor alone. The last change was introduced as a result of a minority report of Commissioner Dole, who feared the existence of too much executive patronage; but as a matter of fact, this feature, combined as it is with biennial sessions of the legislature, has given much annoyance to the governor, and made it impossible to remove undesirable officers except by calling a special session of the senate.

After erecting the islands into a territory called Hawaii and designating Honolulu as the capital city, the act of April 30, 1900, defined citizenship: all persons who were citizens of Hawaii on August 12, 1898, were declared to be citizens of the United States and of the territory; while all citizens of the United States resident in the islands on or since August 12, 1898, and all who should after the date of the act reside there for one year, were declared citizens of the territory. The constitution and laws of the United States where locally applicable and not contrary to the organic act, were extended to Hawaii. The existing laws of Hawaii, not inconsistent with the constitution or laws of the United States were continued in force, with the exception of a long list of sections in the civil and criminal codes which were upon the advice of the commission repealed. Civil and criminal suits under previous laws were to be enforced except contracts for labor, which could be executed only by civil suits.

Legislative authority was granted to a territorial Senate and House of Representatives; the former being composed of fifteen members serving for four years; and the latter of thirty members elected biennially. The islands were divided

into four senatorial and six representative districts, and the members assigned to them roughly in proportion to their population. The legislature should meet every two years and make its appropriations for current expenses cover that period. The extraordinary power was granted to the governor, if the legislature refused or neglected to pass the usual appropriation bills, of ordering the treasurer to continue the current expenditure at the rate established by the preceding appropriation measures. The governor's veto could be passed over by a two-thirds' vote of all the members of both houses. Various limitations upon the borrowing power, the right of incorporation, the right to grant divorces and upon other legislative activities are not dissimilar to provisions of recent State constitutions and territorial acts. The legislature was impowered to create county, town and city governments in the islands.

Although the constitutions of 1887 and 1894 placed high qualifications upon members of the legislature and upon voters, and despite the advice of the Hawaiian Commission urging the retention of similar features in the organic act, yet Congress cut out all property qualifications and retained simply the requirement of citizenship, residence, age, sex, proper registration, and the ability to speak, write and read either the English or the Hawaiian language. The latter provision, however, would exclude most of the Portuguese laborers, and almost all of the Chinese and Japanese, who together in 1900 made up 56 per cent of the population.

The executive power was vested in a governor appointed for four years by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate, and he must be a citizen of the territory. The governor was made commander-in-chief of the militia; he was responsible for the faithful execution of the laws, and when necessary he could call upon the United States military and naval commanders to assist in the preservation of public order, using also the militia and the *posse comitatus,* and suspending the writ of habeas corpus when the public safety demanded it. He was further invested with all the

powers possessed by the president of Hawaii or by any of the old republican ministers not inconsistent with the new order of things. A secretary of the territory was also appointed by the president and senate. Other executive officers, such as the attorney-general, treasurer, superintendent of public works, superintendent of public instruction, surveyor, high sheriff, and others, were to be appointed by the governor and territorial senate, and could not be removed without the consent of the latter.

Judicial powers were vested in a supreme court appointed by the president and senate of the United States, in circuit courts, and in inferior courts established by the legislature. Juries, contrary to the old custom permitting the trial of Europeans by juries of their own race, must be drawn without reference to race, and no one is entitled to a trial by a jury composed of only one race. A United States district court was established for the islands which possessed not only the powers of a district court, but those also of a United States circuit court, and appeals from it could be taken to the circuit court of appeals of the Ninth Judicial Circuit of the United States.

A delegate, elected by the people every two years, was granted the right to a seat in Congress and given the privilege of debate but not of voting. The internal revenue and customs laws of the United States were extended to the islands, and an attempt was made by the act to open the insular fisheries to all citizens. The postal savings bank of Hawaii was abolished and the money ordered returned to the depositors.

In the main, the organic act erected a government in Hawaii similar to the form which Congress had established in the continental territories. The variation from the continental type was much less in the case of Hawaii than in that of Porto Rico, a fact which shows that Congress, considering the two bills at the same time and passing them within two weeks of each other, believed that Hawaii was closer to American ideals and institutions than was Porto

Rico. And yet there are a few marked differences between the government given to Hawaii and that which Congress had previously granted to territories on the mainland. One of these was the erection of all the executive departments in the organic act, a feature usually left for the territorial legislature to arrange; another remarkable difference was the absence of any local subdivisions of government. Under both the monarchy and the republic all the islands had been governed directly from Honolulu; there were no local officials except those appointed by the central authorities; and absolutely no taxing or expending powers rested with the localities,—the petty expenditures needed for road and bridge repairs and for other purely local interests must first be authorized by the central government. The organic act did not change this system, but authorized the legislature to erect counties, towns and cities.

It will be well now to note the character of the people to whose needs a government modelled upon the American ideals could so readily be fitted. Captain Cook estimated, with how much accuracy it is now difficult to tell, that the islands contained about four hundred thousand people, and that Hawaii alone had a population of over one hundred thousand. Whatever may have been the real number, it is certain that a speedy decay of the native population followed the coming of Europeans, and was noticeable to Vancouver as early as 1792. The first census of the islands, in 1832, gave the population as 130,313; by 1860, there were only 65,506 native Hawaiians, and by 1896 their number had fallen to 31,019. The United States census of 1900 showed only 29,787 persons of Hawaiian race and 7,848 who were part-Hawaiians. This remarkable diminution, equivalent to a loss of one-half of every generation, has been attributed to a variety of causes. Prominent among these in the early days were the wars of conquest, and the practice of infanticide; later, contagious and infectious diseases introduced by Europeans, the widespread use of intoxicants, the *kahuna* practice, and leprosy have had a share in reducing the native

population. To-day the pure Hawaiian race comprises one-fifth of the inhabitants of the islands.

The total population of the islands in 1900 was 154,001, or an increase of 21 per cent since 1896. The Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians comprised 24 per cent of this total; Caucasians, 17 per cent; Chinese and Japanese, 56 per cent; and all others 3 per cent. It is noticeable that the larger part of the increase in these four years came not from Hawaiians, who actually decreased in numbers, nor from the whites, whose rate of increase was only 10 per cent but from the Asiatics, who increased from 46,809 in 1896 to 87,877. Among the whites the largest single group were the Portuguese, who, in 1896, numbered 15,191, or almost 70 per cent of the entire Caucasian population. They are the only Europeans who have been able and willing to stand the severe labor of the sugar fields. Introduced first under the labor contract system in 1878, when the extension of sugar cultivation under the reciprocity treaty was taking place, they soon proved satisfactory laborers and large numbers were assisted by the Hawaiian government and by private planters to immigrate from Madeira and the Azores Islands. Many of them have settled permanently, and have by their industry and regard for law built up a very desirable element in the population. The report of the chief-justice for 1903 shows a lower percentage of convicts among the Portuguese than in any other class of the community.

Chinese coolies were first introduced in 1852, and thereafter, usually under contract to labor for a short term of years, they increased in numbers until in 1886 they comprised nearly one-fourth of the entire population. Many Chinamen entered into mercantile life who to-day form a most respectable class; but later laws required the return of Chinese laborers to their own country after the term of service had been completed. Japanese immigration began in 1868, but was unimportant until after 1884. From 116 Japanese residents in that year, the number increased to 12,360 in 1890; and, the stream of immigration continuing,

Type of Kanaka, Hawaiian Islands.

ten years later, in 1900, there were 61,111 Japanese in the islands.

Since the passage of the organic act, the all-important question of Hawaiian life has been the expansion of the sugar industry and the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply of cheap labor to harvest the cane. As early as 1802 a Chinese merchant extracted sugar from the plant which he found growing wild in the islands; but probably the cane was first regularly cultivated for sugar production in 1825. Between 1850 and 1861 various mechanical processes in the manufacture of sugar were introduced, and by 1876 thirty-five sugar mills were in operation. In that year the exports of sugar amounted to twenty-six million pounds; by 1890, this had been multiplied ten times. In 1898, the year of annexation, sugar exports were valued at $16,614,000; five years later the value was $25,310,684; and in the year closing June 30, 1905, it was $35,112,127, or an increase of almost 120 per cent within seven years. In the latter year, sugar furnished 97 per cent of the total value of all exports.

It is evident that the purchasing power of the islands is dependent on the successful production and marketing of their great staple. The market is provided by virtue of the admission of sugar free of duty to American ports; but the production of sugar has been seriously hampered by dearth of labor. Under United States laws, which forbid the giving of financial assistance to encourage immigration, the old plan of paying part of the transportation of foreign laborers, in which the Hawaiian government invested to good purpose several millions of dollars, can no longer be used. National laws also prohibit the forming of labor contracts with foreigners before they enter American territory, and the organic act expressly stated no contract for labor could be judicially enforced except by a civil suit for damages. Finally, the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion Act were, by the act of annexation and the organic act, extended to Hawaii. Thus the customary measures for obtaining

laborers and contracting with them were overthrown by the extension of the national legislation to the new territory.

Every annual report of the governors of Hawaii from 1900 to 1905 has called attention to the evils growing out of the labor question. Europeans could not be obtained without pecuniary assistance, Chinese were absolutely forbidden, and Japanese alone were available, and even they, on account of the absence of labor contracts, could not be obtained readily, or held strictly to their work. Attempts, made under most favorable circumstances, to secure American laborers have signally failed, although a small number of Porto Ricans have proved fairly satisfactory. Governor Dole, in the report for 1901 expressed the opinion that it is a "physical impossibility for the Anglo-Saxon satisfactorily to perform the severe labor required in the sugar fields"; and he claimed that "Hawaii is entitled to legislation favorable to its greatest prosperity." Governor G. R. Carter, in 1905, said, "Small as Hawaii is, American statesmen must recognize that the full development of these islands can not be obtained unless they are exempt from general legislation created for conditions that exist on the mainland or Atlantic seaboard." But in spite of these continual appeals Congress has refused to modify the laws respecting labor immigrants, and the question to-day furnishes the most doubtful feature in the future of the islands.

Annexation also compelled a remodelling of the insular financial system. The customs and excise laws of the United States having been extended to the islands, those sources of income were withdrawn from the insular government; and the income from customs duties and the control of excises were not, as in Porto Rico, vested in the territorial government; and yet the organic act erected a government almost as expensive as that under the preceding republic, and at the same time restricted its borrowing power by limiting its debts to seven per cent of the assessed valuation of property, by requiring the consent of the President of the United States to all loans and by requiring bonds to be payable in

short periods of time. It is not remarkable, therefore, that, between 1898 and 1905, in only two years did the income meet the insular expenses; while in the latter year the result was obtained by a drastic reduction in salaries and the number of civil employees. On June 30, 1905, the bonded indebtedness reached $3,137,000, or about one-third of the amount permitted by the act of April 30, 1900. To meet its expenses the territorial government was compelled to increase the property taxes, to levy an income tax, and to impose various license fees. An act of Congress of January 14, 1903, directed the redemption of the Hawaiian national currency,—one of the extravagances of King Kalakaua,—issued in the years 1884-1886; and by June 30, 1903, about three-quarters of a million dollars had been withdrawn from circulation.

Reference has already been made to the absence of any local units of self-government in the islands, and the permission granted by the organic act to erect such units. The principal evils were the preponderating influence exercised in the government by Honolulu, and the difficulty of obtaining appropriations for legitimate public works in distant places. The failure of the territorial government at once to establish local government was criticised unfavorably by the United States Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, and probably as a result of this report, the Hawaiian legislature in 1903 passed a comprehensive county government law. The act contained provisions transferring to the new county governments certain public water-works, gas-works, public buildings and real estate, and on this account, the law was, within thirteen days after its passage, declared by the Hawaiian supreme court inconsistent with the organic act. The legislature directed the appointment by the governor of a commission to draft a new law, and their recommendations were incorporated into a new law signed by the governor on April 14, 1905. This act erected five counties, the officers of which were vested with limited local administrative functions; their powers did not include

that of taxation, but in a manner similar to the local government of France, included simply the supervision of public works for which money had been apportioned by the central government. A sheriff was elected in each county to whom most of the duties of the former officer called the high sheriff were assigned. Under this law the first local elections took place on June 20, 1905, and the new governments went into operation on July 1st.

Two events of interest respecting the public health of the islands have occurred since the American occupation. The first of these was a disastrous visitation of the bubonic plague, introduced from China, in 1899, which threatened to become seriously epidemic. The authorities resorted to the burning of infected buildings in the Chinese district, but on January 20, 1900, the fire got beyond control, and almost completely destroyed the Chinese quarter. The conflagration, however, destroyed the plague germs, and the disease was soon under control. Claims against the territorial government were made by the owners of the burnt property, and a commission awarded almost a million and a half dollars in damages. By a congressional act of January 26, 1903, the United States government appropriated a million dollars toward the settlement of these claims, and authorized the Hawaiian legislature to issue bonds to pay the remaining claims.

The second event was the outbreak of leprosy in the islands. Within the last year, the United States government has also interested itself in the study of leprosy, the disease which has greatly afflicted the Hawaiians. Believed to have been introduced from China about 1840, the disease spread among the native Hawaiians, who appear to have no terror of it, and who were already attacked by various cutaneous diseases. The real causes of the transmission of the disease are even yet little known; it is not in all cases contagious, nor is it always hereditary; wives have lived with husbands for years without contracting the disease; and the children of leprous parents frequently show no signs of the disease if

removed from the parents at an early age. The victims usually do not live over ten years after taking the disease. It is very rare among others than Hawaiians and Chinese, and most frequent among the former.

In 1865 the first law requiring the segregation of lepers was passed, and shortly afterward a colony was founded on the island of Molokai. The spot selected was a peninsula containing about thirteen square miles, bounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth by precipitous cliffs two thousand feet in height. Here two regular villages have been laid out; cottages have been erected and where the leper cannot afford to purchase a house, it has been given to him by the government; six churches and two schools are maintained in the settlement. Many stories of pathos are told concerning the inhabitants which this small tract of land has held; and it was here that Father Damian, a native of Belgium, lived from 1873 to 1889, in the end giving his life up to the disease, and yet living in daily ministration upon the lepers for ten years before contracting the disease.

The Hawaiian government spends about one hundred thousand dollars a year upon the settlement, the inhabitants of which number from 800 to 1,000 persons. Repeatedly have the territorial governors requested Congress to provide for an investigation of the causes of the propagation of the disease, and at last, by act of March 3, 1905, a law was passed to that effect. This directed that a station of the Marine Hospital Service should be established at Molokai as soon as the Hawaiian government would cede to the United States a square mile of land at the leper settlement. In June, 1905, the selection of land was made by Surgeon-General Wyman in person.

In education the islands approach more nearly to American ideals than does Porto Rico. Probably the second school on the shores of the Pacific in which the English language was taught, was established at Honolulu. The influence of the missionaries was early felt in the erecting of a public school system; and the simplicity of the Hawaiian language

made the acquisition of a knowledge of reading and writing not a difficult task. In 1884, 55 per cent of the population over six years of age could read and write; in 1896, the proportion had risen to 63 per cent. In 1899 there were 189 public and private schools, employing 644 teachers, and enrolling 15,490 scholars. By 1905 the number of schools had risen to 212, with an enrollment of 20,406 scholars. It is significant that in 1904 and 1905 84 per cent of the increased school attendance came from Japanese and Chinese families. Although there are over eighty thousand Asiatics, —a majority of the entire population of the islands,—who cannot become citizens, yet their children must be given the rights of citizens; and if educated in English schools, and able to read and write the English language they will be eligible to vote in the territorial elections.

The islands have never witnessed a sudden outburst of political strife such as was seen in Porto Rico. The first elections for the territorial legislature resulted in a complete victory for the native Hawaiians, who by their knowledge of their language were qualified to vote under the act of April 30, 1900, and who had organized a party called the "Home Rule Party." In the second election, the Republicans were successful. The number of registered voters has grown from eleven thousand to nearly thirteen thousand, averaging about one voter to every fourteen persons of the population.

In his report for the year closing June 30, 1905, Governor Carter requested that 75 per cent of the Federal income from customs and internal revenue taxes collected in the islands be used therein for furthering education, erecting public buildings, improving harbors, and in strengthening the military and naval defences of the islands. He asked that the organic act be changed to allow the governor to remove officers without consent of the senate between sessions of the legislature, and that the legislature be permitted to meet annually instead of every two years. He particularly urged legislation to relieve the labor conditions

of the sugar industry, and sought appropriations for harbor improvements and for Federal buildings in Honolulu and Hilo.

These requests embody the present needs of the islands. They include a more liberal policy of public works, made possible either by the granting of the greater portion of the customs and excise duties to the territory, as has been done in Porto Rico, or by larger appropriations from the national treasury. The political changes are those which experience under the organic law seems to justify, and particularly are annual sessions of the legislature needed in a district where almost all general and local legislative power is vested in one body. The cry for a wider labor supply is the strongest demand coming from the islands, and it is one which will grow in intensity as the industries of the islands develop. If this question were settled the future of the islands would appear to be one of assured prosperity. No one of the new possessions has been more benefited by annexation than has Hawaii, and, granting the continuance of the American demand for cane sugar, and an adequate solution of the labor difficulties, the results of annexation should become increasingly valuable to the "Paradise of the Pacific."

Army headquarters, Manila.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PHILIPPINES UNDER SPANISH CONTROL

The acquisition of the Philippine Islands added to American political life problems different from those growing out of the annexation of Hawaii and Porto Rico. In Porto Rico the Caucasian race was in control, the islands were economically complementary to the United States, and, while in their institutions serious diversities existed from those of the mainland, yet there was ground for the hope that within a reasonably short time, American institutions would establish themselves. But in the Philippines almost every feature of life was at variance with the experience of the United States. In racial traits, in political organization, in habits of life, in modes of industry and commerce, strange, unfamiliar facts greeted the American administrator and called for solutions unknown to his experience. Geography and climate alone presented great difficulties in the way of an orderly administration of the islands. To understand these conditions is to comprehend fully the nature of the task before the American people.

Stretching through ten degrees of longitude eastward from the line of 117° east longitude, and through eighteen degrees of latitude northward from 4° 45′ north latitude, the Philippines form part of the East Indian Archipelago on the southeastern coast of Asia. Japan lies slightly to the northeast of the islands, Australia and New Guinea to the southeast, the larger islands of Borneo, Sumatra and Java

to the southwest, the Celebes directly south. Within the Philippine Archipelago over three thousand islands have been counted, and over sixteen hundred of these are named. The total area of the islands is 115,026 square miles; an area only slightly greater than the area of the State of Nevada, or of Illinois and Michigan together, yet so indented are the shores of the archipelago that its coast-line is more than twice that of the continental territory of the United States.

In structure the Philippines are part of the volcanic formation which stretches from Kamschatka along the east coast of Asia to the shores of Australia; and the islands contain twelve active and eight extinct volcanoes. Geological upheavals of comparatively recent years have resulted in the raising of beds of sea-coast to the height of over five thousand feet above the ocean; and the whole region appears to be in a state of geological unrest. Evidence of this condition is also seen in abundant mineral and hot springs, and in the frequency of earthquakes. The islands lie in a region in which in the four years 1899-1903, forty-one large earthquakes, registered by instruments throughout the world, had their origin. In Manila earthquakes occur at the rate of about one a month; while throughout the islands, about four a month are registered. Notable destructive shocks were felt in Manila in the years, 1600, 1645, 1658, 1728, 1863 and 1880.

The climate of the Philippines is tropical, characterized by a high temperature, a heavy rainfall, and destructive wind-storms. The mean annual temperature throughout the islands varies from 80° to 86°; in Manila the thermometer ranges from an average of 77° in January to an average of 83° in May. There are much greater variations in rainfall than in temperature. The eastern coasts which receive the precipitation of the Pacific trade winds have a heavy rainfall, reaching in some cases one hundred and fifty inches a year; on the west coast and in the interior of the islands the fall is much less, and at Manila, only seventy-five inches. Usually the rainfall is not evenly distributed throughout the

year; the first four months having scarcely any precipitation, while June, July and August have about one-half of the entire rainfall. During the months of May and June there are, on the average, three thunder showers a day in Manila.

Agricultural products furnish almost the sole source of wealth and the principal articles for exportation. To describe the Philippine flora would require an account of the most important tropical plants. Probably the islands are unique in the great number of fibrous plants, the varieties of which, numbering over three hundred, to-day furnish the greater part of the insular exports. Sugar cane, introduced, according to some accounts, by the Chinese, is next in importance. Tropical fruits like the banana, mango, and cocoanut, grow without cultivation. Indian corn, rice, the sweet potato and other grains and vegetables can be raised. Other products which have proved profitable are coffee, bamboo, cotton, pineapples, indigo, tobacco, cacao, rubber, and gutta-percha. Many spice plants, dye-woods and medicinal herbs grow wild or can be produced with little labor. The forests, which cover almost three-fourths of the islands, contain a great variety of hard woods. During the year ending with June 30, 1902, there were seven hundred and forty-seven species of wood brought to market. Many of these woods are so heavy that the logs can be floated down the streams only by the buoyancy of bamboo poles tied to their sides. The tropical climate and fertile soil bring forth everywhere their usual product of a luxuriant and varied vegetation.

The aborigines of the Philippines are the Negritos, a pygmy people whose members are among the smallest of the races of men. The males average about four feet ten inches in height; the females are shorter. They have a dark, almost black, skin, and black, wooly hair, which has been likened by one traveller to astrakhan fur. The nose is broad and flat, and the head, unlike the long head of the negro, is quite round. Industrially and socially the life of the Negritos

is of the simplest character. Retaining no permanent habitations, but wandering in the woods in search of the food nature provides for them, their life is raised above that of beasts only by their knowledge of fire, of the bow and arrow and other simple implements, by their occasional communal life, and by the rudimentary religious beliefs which they possess. All efforts to civilize them appear to have failed. To-day there are about thirty thousand Negritos scattered through the more inaccessible parts of the islands. They were known to the Chinese as early as the thirteenth century, and there is evidence of their occupation at one time or another of many of the East Indian islands.

The small numbers and physical weakness of the Negritos put them at a great disadvantage when they came into contact with the Malayan race, which from the time of Spanish occupation to the present has made up the principal part of the population both in numbers and in intellectual strength. According to Mr. David P. Barrows *(Census of Philippine Islands, 1903,* Vol. I, p. 411), two waves of Malayan immigration into the Philippines are discernible; the first of which is represented by the head-hunters of northern Luzón,—the Igorots,—and the second by practically all the present Christian and Mohammedan tribes. But in physical traits, in mental qualities, and in language, all the tribes resemble one another.

The Malay has, however, been influenced by two other races and religions which have brought to him much of the civilization of Asia. The first of these came through the Hindu conquest of some of the East Indian islands and the propagation of the Hindu religion and culture throughout the archipelago. Their influence upon the Philippine Malay is undetermined, but it extended at least to the introduction of Sanscrit words in the Tagálog and Moro languages. The second propaganda was that of the Mohammedan Arabs, who were found in the archipelago by Marco Polo. At about the time of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries the Mohammedan faith had been adopted by many Malays, who,

under its religious, political and commercial inspiration, were engaged in a career of conquest throughout the Malay archipelago. These people, entering the Philippines from the south, were early brought into contact with the Spanish settlers; and thus in the antipodes, the Spaniard found the same faith to combat which had aroused his hatred during centuries of contest in Spain. It was no wonder, therefore, that he applied the same term, Moro or Moor, to the new Mohammedan foe, which had been attached to his European rival.

Accepting Dr. Barrows's opinion of the like origin of all the Philippine races, it must be admitted that minor differences of language, customs, and racial association have led to the division of the Philippine inhabitants into many local groups. One of the principal agents in this subdivision was the existence of relatively small political divisions, and the absence of any broad political unions which would ostensibly group together people who possessed some consanguineous relationship. Even the tribe as a political unit was lacking, and consequently Dr. Barrows compares the Malay unfavorably with the North American Indian, who not only possessed a tribal organization, but in the case of the Six Nations, reached the point of extensive confederacies of distinct tribes. Under such circumstances, it is but natural that small political groupings should, by some observers, be considered indicative of ethnical distinctions as well; and as a result, some lists of the Philippine tribes contain as high as eighty-two distinct divisions. The Philippine Bureau of Ethnology has, however, proved that some of these are but different names for the same race, and has reduced the number of tribes to twenty-four, including the eight Christian tribes. The eight tribes which have yielded to Spanish influence and have become more or less civilized are the Bícols, Cagayáns, Ilocanos, Pampangans, Pangasináns, Togálogs, Visayans and Zambalans. The more important of the uncivilized tribes are the Negritos, Igorots, Mandayas, Mangyans, Ilongots, and Bukidnons.

Accounts of the Philippine Malays generally agree when descriptive of their physical traits. The Filipino is of medium height with long jet black hair, a scanty beard, and an olive or brown complexion which Antonio de Morga in 1609 described as of "the color of boiled quinces." But no consensus of opinion exists concerning their intellectual character; and indeed so varied are the reports that it has been said they would "fit any description whatever between ignorance and enlightenment, intellectual capacity and incapacity, virtue and vice, treachery and fidelity, cowardice and courage, lying and veracity, the thief and the honest man." The early Spanish accounts, however, usually make the Filipino crafty and treacherous, given to plundering and robbery, to licentiousness and drunkenness, and, in disposition, idle, improvident, and superstitious. Such traits are those natural to a savage race inhabiting fertile tropical regions; or they are qualities—such as treachery or superstition—which would be evident to the Spaniard intent upon the conquest and enslavement of the natives, or their conversion to Christianity. Later descriptions have somewhat modified the characterization of the Filipino as idle, superstitious, and treacherous, but they have not yet made it possible to deny the prevalence of those traits in many of the population. The ease with which the Filipino changed from foe to friend and from friend to foe during the revolt against American authority reveals the rather discouraging fact that the qualities observed by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century are not yet wholly lacking.

European discovery of the Philippines was a result, first of the search for the Spice Islands, and, secondly, of the Papal Bull of Demarcation of 1493, which, modified in the following year by a treaty between the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs, provided that Portuguese marines should not venture westward of a line drawn three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. When Portugal, shortly after the voyage of Vasco da Gama, had succeeded in reaching the long desired haven of the Spice

Islands, Spain, through the voyages of Columbus, had not yet found her equivalent in the wealth of Mexico and Peru. A Portuguese navigator, Fernão de Magalhães, or Magellan, already familiar with Portuguese successes in the East Indies, suggested to the king of Spain in 1518 the possibility that the Spice Islands lay eastward of the line of demarcation if that line were extended around the globe, and proposed reaching these islands by sailing southwestward along the American coast until a strait leading westward should be found. On March 22, 1518, the king approved of Magellan's plan, and after laborious preparation the expedition set out from Seville, September 20, 1519.

Magellan's remarkable voyage to the East Indies has been frequently described, but never with too great praise of the courage and perseverance of the commander. Amid the terrors of the sea and the jealousies of his fellow-captains; under the tedious delay of a month amid the conflicting winds and currents of the straits that now bear his name; with mutiny breaking out at intervals and capital execution and marooning as the extreme measures taken to subdue it; with hunger and thirst, anger and hate, fear and lust actuating his crews on the voyage of ninety-eight days across the Pacific;—amid such difficulties Magellan pursued his purpose to secure for the Spanish king the Moluccas, which under the Treaty of Demarcation he believed rightfully belonged to Spain. After crossing the Pacific, Magellan first touched at the Ladrone Islands, which he named on account of the thievishness of the inhabitants, and thence went on toward the southwest, and on March 16, 1521, he arrived at Homonhon, a small island to the westward of Leyte. Sailing among the Philippine Islands, he converted one of the chiefs of the island of Cebú, and then joined with the new convert against the people of Mactán, a small island off the coast of Cebú. Here, on April 26, 1521, Magellan lost his life while engaged in battle with the natives. The remnant of his expedition, after further adventures in the East Indies, finally rounded the Cape of Good Hope on May 4, 1522,

and, four months later, reached a Spanish port. After the voyage of Magellan, the Spanish authorities made several unsuccessful efforts to secure control of the islands of San Lázaro, a name which Magellan had applied to the Philippines because he had celebrated the feast of St. Lazarus during his stay at the islands. Expeditions to the Philippines and the Moluccas, and after 1529 when Spain relinquished her claim to the Moluccas, to the Philippines alone, did not succeed in founding a permanent settlement or in establishing a regular line of trade with the islands, which were now known to contain few of the much desired spices. Up to 1565, therefore, the islands had been visited by several Spanish expeditions without any definite results except some additions to geographical knowledge.

The real history of the islands begins with the expedition sent from Mexico in 1564 under Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a former mayor of the city of Mexico. Philip II. of Spain, ignoring the fact that the Philippines probably lay within the hemisphere claimed for colonization by Portugal, authorized this expedition, and urged it upon the Mexican viceroy, Luis de Velasco, and upon Friar Audiẽs de Urdaneta, who had accompanied the expedition of Loaisa in 1525. The earliest letters of Philip II. disclose a covetousness for the spice trade, for he writes to Velasco, "You shall stipulate that they try to bring some spice in order to make the essay of that traffic." Again in the instructions to Legaspi the commander is directed to examine minutely the harbors of the islands, the settlements of natives and their wealth, the varieties of spices among them, and the kinds of merchandise needed to trade with them. Sound friendship and peace with the natives are enjoined upon the commander; and he is authorized, if in his judgment it be advantageous to God and his majesty, and the land is rich enough, to establish a colony and to remain there himself with some of his people and the clergy. Legaspi was ordered to show the greatest respect to the five Augustinian friars who accompanied the expedition, "since you are aware that the chief thing sought

Nelson Appleton Miles, lieutenant-general, U. S. A.

after by His Majesty is the increase of the Holy Catholic faith and the salvation of the souls of these infidels."

Legaspi left Navidad, Mexico, on November 21, 1564, with two galleons and two smaller vessels, containing about four hundred sailors and soldiers and five friars. In February, 1565, the fleet reached the islands, which by this time had been given the name of the Spanish king, and in the following April a fort and a permanent settlement were established on the island of Cebú. This beginning was followed within the next seven years by the conquest of almost the entire archipelago; but conquest it could not be truthfully called unless we link with that word the idea of religious conversion. Legaspi with his few hundred men and handful of monks brought under Spanish allegiance and Christian instruction a population which outnumbered them almost a thousand to one. The conquest, while partly military, did not possess the qualities of avarice and thirst for blood shown in Mexico and Peru; and its principal weapons were diplomacy, tact, Christian precept and religious conversion. To Legaspi, in the main, belongs the credit of so curbing Spanish friars and soldiers, native pagans or Mohammedans, that a satisfactory basis could be reached upon which all could live peaceably. Says Prof. E. G. Bourne, in his introduction to Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands,* "The work of Legaspi during the next seven years entitles him to a place among the greatest of colonial pioneers. In fact he has no rival. . . . (He) laid such foundations that the changes of the next thirty years constitute one of the most surprising revolutions in the annals of colonization."

Spanish authority in the Philippines as in America found its principal outward form in the establishment of the *repartimiento* or *encomienda,* already described in the history of Porto Rico. The *repartimiento* was a royal grant including both land and population, the control over the latter being in theory somewhat of a feudal character. Later the feudal character was sometimes lacking, as under the severities

of the Indian slave-system in America; or the connection with the land was lost, and in such cases the grant of inhabitants alone was called *encomienda.* It was the latter term which was applied to the organization in the Philippines. Retired soldiers, or favorites of the king or governor received allotments of native communities, from which, by forced labor or tribute, they derived an income.

In several ways this system in the Philippines differed from its counterpart in Spanish America. In the first place the number of natives allowed to one Spaniard was much larger than in America; for, while in the latter place the number was limited to three hundred Indians, in the Philippines as many as twelve hundred tributary families were held by one individual. Again, in the Philippines, while the system often brought hardships to the native, it was not nearly so rigorous as in America, and did not descend to a complete enslavement of the population. It tended in time to take the form of a fixed tribute which was set at eight *reals,* or one dollar, for each family. A report to the king in 1591 of the existing *encomiendas* includes 166,903 families tributary either to the king or to private individuals, which, according to the Spanish reckoning of four persons to a family, would make the total population in allegiance to Spain, 667,612 souls; a figure which probably included nearly all the population of the islands.

The government established by the Spanish was of a simple nature. Legaspi was given the title of *adelantado,* with the powers of a viceroy or captain-general; which made him practically an absolute ruler, whose actions were supposed to be governed according to the Spanish "Laws of the Indies;" but in reality were unchecked except by the fear of future punishment at the hands of his sovereign. He was authorized to administer justice and to appoint all subordinate officials. Residing thousands of miles away from Spain, a distance in those days requiring months and years to receive information from the mother country, it was but natural that the governors should exercise their power in

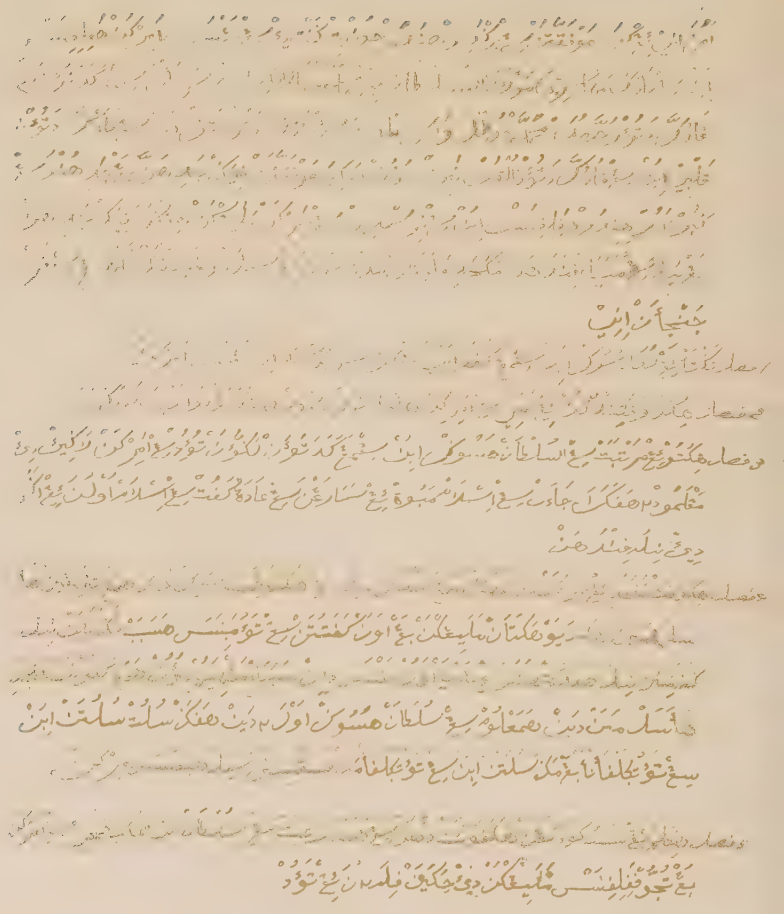
arbitrary fashion. In 1583 a royal decree established a high court called the *audiencia,* which was designed as a check upon the governor, but as the governor was its president, and he was not bound by its advice, it had little restraint over him. Another check on the governor was the *residencia,* or investigation which was held for six months after a governor had left office, and during which any person, great or small, could bring charges against him. What influence the fear of such an inquisition would have upon a man would be determined largely by his own temperament, but usually it was the present necessity or gain which guided him, rather than motives of justice or fear of future investigation.

In June, 1571, Legaspi established a city government in Manila composed of the usual Spanish municipal authorities, including two alcaldes, twelve councilmen, a chief constable, and other officers. Other parts of the archipelago were divided into provinces each of which was ruled by a Spanish *alcalde mayor.* The provinces numbered only three or four at first, but increased in number with the progress of civilization and the growth of administrative needs. Each province in turn was divided into pueblos or towns which were ruled by *gobernadorcillos* or petty governors.

Actual control over the individual, however, was exercised by the Spaniards through the old family relationships among the natives. The organization known as the *barangay* was a grouping of a number of persons having blood relationship about a chief or *dato.* Usually the unit contained at least fifty persons, and in some extraordinary cases the number reached into the thousands; but the average was probably forty or fifty families. The *barangay* chief was made responsible for the payment of tribute by the families belonging to his group; while, on the other hand, he possessed wide judicial powers and general control over them. Originally the chieftainship was hereditary, but breaks in the family line were filled by appointment by Spanish authorities, and still later the position became generally elective. Toward the close of Spanish rule the duties imposed upon

the *barangay* chiefs were onerous, and efforts were made to escape the responsibilities of the position; and this tendency, in turn, called forth a Spanish law making the service compulsory. In thus respecting native blood relationship, and dealing with the natives through their chiefs, the Spanish adopted a means which has been largely responsible for the centuries of successful government in the islands. There was no sudden rupture in their old customs and associations, no attempt to introduce wide-reaching innovations, but as much of the old was preserved as was consistent with the political ends of the Spanish governors.

With these political organs described, it might be supposed that the bases of Spanish authority were understood, but such a conclusion is far from the truth. In the Philippines, as for centuries during the middle ages in Europe, the real order-producing power was the representative of the Christian church. We have noticed that five friars accompanied the expedition of Legaspi, and within five months, one of these was preaching in the Visayan dialect. While Legaspi was on the island of Cebú, the first native convert was made, the niece of a local chieftain. Her conversion was quickly followed by that of others, and in 1568 came the conversion of the chief, Tupas, and his son. When Legaspi moved the seat of government to Manila, on Luzón, the same course of conversion was continued. Philip II., learning that the colony had not proved a financial success, said, "That is not a matter of moment. I am an instrument in the conversion of the kingdom of Luzón and God has predestined me to that end." Accordingly, he directed that as many missionaries as possible should be sent out to the islands. Monks of the Franciscan, Augustinian, Dominican, Jesuit and barefooted Augustinians (Recoleto) orders soon arrived in the islands; and, as secular missionaries could not be obtained to care for parishes when organized, a special dispensation of the pope permitted the friars to leave their monastic houses and individually take up the curacy of parishes.



Agreement entered into with the Sultan of Joló, August 20, 1899.
From the original in the Department of State, Washington.

Sultan of Jolo

Dato Rajah Muda

Dato Attik

Datos Calbi and Joakanain

In a religious sense the results of the friars' labors were remarkable. By 1591 there were in the islands one hundred and forty friars and a tributary, pacified, and largely baptized population of one hundred and sixty-six thousand families. A writer in the year 1585 expressed the opinion that by that date more than four hundred thousand persons had been converted and baptized. In addition to Sundays, thirty-two other holidays were observed throughout the islands; and each town and ward, each locality and local administrator had a patron saint whose memory must be celebrated. The love of the savage for the concrete and pictorial in religion was satisfied by the emblematic representations inspired by the faith of the Spaniards.

But the work of the friars was not limited to religious instruction. Like their European forerunners, they were the force by which European customs and civilization were,—if only in a small degree,—spread among the natives. They early learned the seventeen-letter alphabet of the Filipinos, and translated lives of the saints, simple prayer-books and other religious works into the native dialects. In 1593 they erected the first printing-presses in Manila, and by 1640 they had taught the Tagals to write horizontally instead of vertically. To build and furnish the churches the brighter natives were instructed in the arts of sculpture, building, silversmithing, and decorating. The native taste for music was encouraged and natives were trained in the church choirs. Women were taught to embroider stoles and altar-pieces and to do other ecclesiastical needlework. Some churches were built of stone, the masonry done by native workmen under the friars' instruction. The monks taught the natives improved methods of rice culture, and introduced from America Indian corn and cacao. Further, in order more easily to collect tribute and to give opportunity for instruction in Spanish, in the native languages and in Christianity, the monks with the assistance of the central government, encouraged the settlement of the inhabitants in villages, where the native huts were grouped around the church and the friar's house.

The friars, during the early period at least, strenuously opposed the evils of the *repartimiento* system; protesting against the inhuman treatment of the natives by the Spanish *encomenderos*. In 1583 Bishop Salazar, the first bishop of the islands, wrote to the king upon the subject, and described the evils of torture, disease and death which were being heaped upon the natives.

In all these activities the friar was the organ of conquest and of administration of the Spanish government. The standing army in 1590 numbered four hundred men, and its influence in the conquest was proportionate to its size. The real work of conquest was done by the friars; the real burden of maintaining Spanish authority, although in theory vested in the *encomenderos* and in the provincial alcaldes, actually rested upon the intellectual superiority of the friar over his flock. The only Spaniard within scores of miles, cut off from his fellows by dangerous water-channels or difficult mountain chains, having no hope of succor if in danger, the friar stood, in his little community, for his religion, his order, and the central government. Gradually the Manila authorities imposed other duties upon him—in financial matters, in police affairs, in judicial and election cases, in matters respecting education or public works—until his range of duties was almost as extensive as that of an English justice of the peace in the eighteenth century, and his power over his parishioners was almost absolute.

Upon the whole it was a successful government, this mingling of a central authority with the *barangay* chieftainship of pagan days, and with the monastic Christianity of the friars. The inhabitants were kept in a condition of tutelage, they were not encouraged or allowed to undertake works of personal initiative, they were not raised far above their social condition before the conquest; but, in the main, order was preserved; and, if the Spanish government annually spent much more in the islands than it received from taxes, yet the people were happy, they were free from famine and from the terrible slavery enforced upon the Indians of

Spanish America. For three hundred years there were few insurrections, and under Spanish practices, the islands were withdrawn from the more serious struggle for existence in Europe and Asia. This internal peace and the absence of any permanent organized exploitation of the natives have led to comparisons with the Portuguese and Dutch colonies and with India to the advantage of the Spanish colony. Spain erred little upon the side of selfish exploitation of the islands and their inhabitants.

Indeed, the most frequent criticism of Spanish administration has been directed against the commercial policy of Spain, which while restricting the industries of the islands, prevented also the Spaniard's use of the natives for economic gain. Until Spain's loss of her American possessions early in the nineteenth century, the Philippine Islands were considered a dependency of New Spain; through Mexico all communication and commerce with the islands was had, and from Mexico almost every year there came subsidies for making up the deficit in Philippine accounts. Up to the latter part of the eighteenth century the insular commerce was conducted in a manner which was truly mediæval.

Once each year a state galleon made the voyage from Acapulco in Mexico to the archipelago and return. The vessel was of light draught, of great breadth of beam, with high bows and stern, and of about fifteen hundred tons burden. The voyage to Mexico consumed from five to eight months, while the return voyage to the islands was made in from seventy to ninety days. These annual voyages were the sole means of communication with Spain and New Spain. The galleon brought officers, soldiers and friars; and passengers able to pay from five hundred to one thousand dollars for the passage, having their own servants to provide their meals, and willing to agree to stay in the islands for eight years, found in the *naos* their sole means of transportation.

The galleon furnished also the only method of transporting goods to Mexico and Spain. The tribute from

Philippine natives was collected by the government in local products which were exchanged with Chinese merchants for the products of their country. Chinese wares were then packed in cases, and the remainder of the galleon's cargo after these had been provided for, was made up of the ventures of Manila merchants. All goods must be packed in bales of about two and a half feet long, sixteen inches broad and two feet high. The capacity of the vessel was determined by the number of such bales which could be placed in her hold; and tickets were issued giving to certain persons the privilege of shipping a specified number of bales. Such *boletas* or tickets were issued to members of the close corporation of merchants called the *consulado,* to officials, to widows of Spaniards, and to others. The right to ship goods was bought and sold, but could be exercised only by the members of the *consulado.* In the sixteenth century the value of the cargo from the islands to Mexico was limited to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and that brought from Mexico could not exceed five hundred thousand dollars; and not until 1734 was this limit increased by law to twice these respective amounts.

Silver was the most useful of the commodities brought from Mexico, for with it could be purchased the stocks of oriental goods brought to the islands by Chinese and Japanese merchants. The officers of the official vessel received high salaries; the income of the captain being about forty thousand dollars; that of the chief officer twenty-five thousand; and upon the return of the vessel to Manila all her fittings were appropriated by the officers, who frequently sold them again to the government before the vessel set out on the next voyage. When the government cargo failed to realize in Mexico the amount needed for the expenses of the Philippine administration, the balance was paid by an appropriation, called the *situado,* from the treasury of New Spain. Frauds and favoritism naturally arose in connection with such a commercial system; undervaluing of the cargo occurred continuously; and the vessel was frequently laden

beyond the point of safety. Ecclesiastical trust funds were loaned to merchants, and frequently were lost by the wrecking of the galleons or their seizure by Spain's enemies. The last voyage to Mexico was made in 1811; but not until four years later was the final return made to Manila.

Direct trade between the islands and Spain was not opened until 1765, when, in accordance with the orders of the king, Charles III., a royal frigate left Cadiz, rounded Cape Horn, and proceeded to Manila. For eighteen years this course was pursued; but in 1783 the voyages ceased, and two years later the king granted a monopoly to the *Real Compañía de Filipinas,* by which it could trade with Spain, China and the Philippines. Later, to assist the company in making up its cargoes, the trade between the Philippines and Asiatic ports was thrown open to all nations. But the company never thrived, and when, in 1830, it became bankrupt, Manila was made a free port for all foreign vessels.

Until the nineteenth century the history of the Philippines presents few dramatic incidents. After the death of Legaspi, in 1572, the islands were attacked by the Chinese pirate, Li-ma-hong; but the Spanish forces under Juan de Salcedo, the grandson of Legaspi, defeated the invaders. In the latter part of the sixteenth century the colony was endangered by its proximity to the Portuguese possessions; and when these were seized by the Dutch early in the seventeenth century, a series of contests took place with the latter nation which continued during the period of Dutch maritime supremacy. Attempted invasions of the Moluccas by the Spaniards and of the Philippines by the Dutch were frequent; but no conquests were made by either; but most serious injury was inflicted by the Dutch in their seizure of Mexican galleons. Another source of trouble appeared as early as 1594 with the attempt of the Spanish friars to establish missions in Japan. The Japanese emperor caused the execution of the missionaries as fast as they could be seized, but the Philippine friars were not dismayed by the perils of martyrdom. Many, disobeying the orders of the Spanish governor, escaped

to Japan, only to meet their death. Not until fifty years after the first mission was the attempt to convert the Japanese abandoned.

More important than the conflicts with Portuguese, Dutch and Japanese, was the war with England in 1762 into which Spain entered on account of her "family compact" with France. England at once made use of her navy against the colonies of Spain. Havana in Cuba was taken by Admiral Rodney; and a fleet under Admiral Cornish, carrying European and Sepoy troops from India attacked Manila. After a bombardment of two weeks, the city was surrendered by the archbishop, in the absence of the governor, on October 6, 1762, agreeing at the same time to pay an indemnity of four million dollars. The eighteen months during which the English held the city were a period of great confusion. The archbishop was able to pay only one-eighth of the indemnity he had promised; there were conflicts for control among the Spanish officials; natives and Spaniards in different parts of the islands refused to recognize the archbishop's cession of the archipelago to the English; and disorders were common in Manila and the suburbs. On the other hand the English naval and military commanders quarreled among themselves and added to the confusion. In the spring of 1764 the English surrendered the city to the authority of the newly appointed Spanish governor, Francisco de la Torre.

A feature of almost continual prominence in Philippine history is that of contests between the political and ecclesiastical authorities in Manila, varied occasionally by jealousies among the spiritual orders, and by conflicts between the friars and the secular clergy. The first bishop, Domingo de Salazar, reached the islands in 1580; later, Manila was erected into an archbishopric with the suffragan bishops of Cebú, Segovia, Cazeres, and Jaro. The four monastic orders, Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans and Jesuits, were each represented in the islands by a provincial who directed the labors of the members of his order. At an early date

the strife between the orders was so great that the king ordered the division of the insular territories among them. The 140 friars in the islands in 1591 had by 1750 increased to 427, in addition to 142 parochial clergy, mainly natives, whose influence was relatively slight.

But of greater significance than the inter-monastic jealousies, were the quarrels of the monks with the archbishop and the secular clergy. Originally granted the curacy of souls because of the absence of parish priests, the monks ever afterward refused to acknowledge the authority of the archbishop. Papal and royal mandates placing the orders under the authority of the bishops were disregarded; and when the archbishop appealed to Spain, it was usually the friars who were more powerful than his own friends. Only when the archbishop was a member of one of the orders, or closely in sympathy with them, did religious peace exist in the islands. In reality, the friars had but to threaten, as on several occasions they did, to leave the islands, and their immunity was secured; for both in Spain and the islands the political influence and value of the monks was appreciated.

When the archbishop and friars acted together, the lot of the governor was not an easy one; and on one occasion the governor was kidnapped, and on another murdered as a result of riots or conspiracies arising out of his relations to the clergy. Governor Salcedo, in 1668, was seized in his room at night under orders of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and taken to the monastery of San Augustín, where he was fastened with a heavy chain to the wall of his cell, dying years afterward when journeying as a prisoner to Mexico. In 1719 Governor Bustamante, while defending his palace against the attacks of a mob headed by friars, was wounded and died within a few hours. Another governor is said to have died as a result of worry brought on by his troubles with the friars. The authority of the clergy was increased also by the fact that during part of the eighteenth century the archbishop was the recognized

successor in the absence or disability of the governor. Under such circumstances it is but natural that the ecclesiastical archives of the Philippines should "abound with proofs of the bitter and tenacious strife sustained . . . between the civil and church authorities" (Foreman, *The Philippine Islands,* p. 227).

The nineteenth century in the Philippines, as in the Spanish-American colonies, was a period of struggle between the new ideas of political rights, popular education, and individual freedom on the one hand, and the old customs of absolutism, ecclesiasticism, and commercial restrictions on the other. Into the islands came some feeble ripples from the waves of the political and social revolution which were breaking over the nations of Europe and America. Under this influence the Filipinos, or at least the more progressive among them, broke away from the tutelage of Spanish officials and monks; they gradually learned to think and act for themselves and with each other, until at last a certain racial consciousness appeared. This sentiment found expression in the *Katipunan* and similar native associations; and achieved its mission in the opposition to Spanish mediævalism. Three phases of nineteenth century life must, therefore, be noted. First, the actual extension of liberal ideas to a part of the population; secondly, the general rigidity with which the Spanish official classes opposed this change of thought and action; and thirdly, the clash between the two, beginning with the conspiracy of 1872 and ending with the great insurrection of the years 1896-1898. The latter date is adopted as a matter of convenience, for the third phase continues under American occupation in the attempt to establish a Philippine republic.

Probably the most important element in promoting liberalism was the change in the commercial system accomplished in the nineteenth century. Beginning with the establishment in 1765 of direct trade between the islands and Spain, one notices a gradual advance toward commercial freedom. The Royal Company of the Philippines, chartered in 1785, while

possessing a monopoly of the trade with Spain, yet proved an advance over the previous state galleons to Mexico and Spain; and it was shortly followed by the throwing open of the trade between the islands and China to all nations. The company, while failing to earn dividends for its shareholders, played a large part in the economic awakening of the islands. Of its total capital of twenty millions of dollars, a considerable portion was advanced to the natives to encourage the production of sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, indigo, pepper and other agricultural products; and the profitable production of some of these staples dates from the period of the selfish generosity of this company. It has been said that the company "was the precursor of free trade—the stepping-stone to commercial liberty in these regions."

Some foreign merchants established themselves in Manila before the close of the eighteenth century; others came in after 1814 when England compelled Spain to open certain colonial ports to foreigners, and a rapid advance in agriculture and commerce followed. In 1830 the Royal Company went into bankruptcy, and in 1834 foreign nations were permitted to trade freely with Manila; but restrictions upon the entrance of foreigners into internal trade throughout the islands continued as late as 1886. The policy of advancing money to the natives which had been adopted by the Royal Company, and which eventually proved the ruin of the company, was also used by several foreign firms, notably the American house of Russell, Sturgis and Company, with similar results. The firm failed, but large amounts of money were put in circulation, and the production of staple agricultural products was stimulated. A number of wealthy Spanish and Filipino families date their rise from the period of encouragement given by these commercial companies. The Suez Canal, by cheapening the cost of transportation to Europe had a direct effect in increasing the market for Philippine products, in augmenting the output of merchantable goods, and in encouraging European immigration to the islands.

An economic advance was thus evident in the nineteenth century; a surplus product had been created, the means of disposing of it had been found, and an advance in well-being and in population followed. Among the Filipino and half-caste families which profited by this awakening, there were evidences of strong ambition, a desire for higher education and for positions of prominence, and a growing consciousness of class interests. Among the lower classes, however, the economic advance brought about a rapid increase of the population. For a century and a half after 1591 the civilized population increased only from 667,612 to 837,182. By 1800 this had been augmented to 1,561,251; but the great advance in population took place in the nineteenth century. By 1845 the population had doubled; and by 1903 the civilized tribes included 6,987,686 persons, or over four times the number in 1800. To the improved economic and agricultural conditions, more than to any other cause, must be attributed this great increase of the native races. Immigrants had but a very small part in the progress of population; in 1864 the number of resident Spaniards, including the army, was only four thousand, and in 1903 only eight-tenths of one per cent were foreign born. Of this total of 56,138 foreigners, forty-one thousand were Chinese, eight thousand were Americans and nearly four thousand were Spaniards.

Accompanying the advance in population and well-being, and partly a result of it, but also in a measure due to theoretical considerations among the abler Spanish administrators, was a decided gain in education and intellectual development. A convent for girls and a Jesuit college for the education of Spanish youths were provided about 1600. Nineteen years later the University of Santo Tomás of Manila was formed, which continued in existence under Dominican auspices until the close of Spanish rule. To these were added, mainly in the nineteenth century, several secondary schools, a normal school, five diocesan schools for training clergymen, several girls' colleges, and three or four

professional schools. In all these institutions, however, the clerical and Spanish influence predominated.

Primary education in an irregular manner in the native tongues was given by the parish friars from an early date. There was, however, no educational system, nor any supervision of the friars in their educational work; and, while the political authorities occasionally attempted to spread the knowledge of Spanish, the friars, jealous of their position of intermediaries between the natives and Spanish officials, very generally neglected to give instruction in that language. In 1863, an elaborate royal decree directed the establishment and support of at least one primary school for boys and one for girls in each town, in which instruction should be given to the children of native and of Chinese parents. Native school teachers could be employed, but the instruction was placed under the control of the parish priests. And although voluminous instructions were issued, benevolent and even wise regulations adopted, and reports compiled showing the establishment of over two thousand schools, with several hundred thousand pupils, yet the whole system was a farce except so far as local priests chose to execute the administrative orders. Tomas G. del Rosario, writing in the census of 1903 (Vol. III., p. 594) says of the school system, "However, this was superficial only, at bottom everything was contradictory to these laws and provisions, which were nothing but a veneer, a veil which covered the greatest of governmental fictions."

Such instruction as was gained in these schools served, however, to raise the intellectual standards of the native race, and particularly presented educational ideals, which, from their difficulty of attainment, only added to the feeling of restraint against Spain. Where the higher educational facilities were available for Filipinos, they were so saturated with the spirit of mediævalism that the only profession open to the students until late in the nineteenth century was the church, and therein, the native could hope for no high preferment. After 1870 the number of graduates in law,

medicine, surveying and other practical branches increased; but it is charged that native lawyers and physicians could rarely obtain the official patronage which was necessary to professional success. In consequence, a constantly increasing number of Filipino youths were sent by their parents for education in Europe; and upon their return they helped to disseminate democratic ideas and served to increase the anti-Spanish feeling. The most noted of such persons, José Rizal, bore a conspicuous part in the Philippine national movement.

The Filipino with his gradual economic and intellectual advancement had gained no additional share in the government of his country. In 1810 the constitutional Spanish government had declared that the natives of all the colonies were of equal rank with inhabitants of the Peninsula, and entitled to representation in the Spanish Cortes. This privilege, annulled in 1814, was again granted in 1821, only to be withdrawn two years later after the success of the Holy Allies in overthrowing the Spanish revolutionists. In the years 1835 and 1836 a similar granting and revocation of the right of representation took place; and again after the Spanish revolution of 1868, the political hopes of the Filipinos were aroused. Such raising and dashing of political aspirations would, in the presence of a strong racial feeling or an adequate political organization, have resulted in native uprisings; but up to 1870 neither of these prerequisites to revolution existed, and beyond an unimportant revolt in 1814 in the island of Ilicos, there was no armed protest against the withholding of political rights. Not until after 1860 did the semi-political Masonic lodges form the nucleus of a Philippine national movement, which, suppressed in 1872, broke out anew in 1896 on a much larger scale.

Against the rising tide of Philippine nationality the whole force of Spanish officialdom in the islands was cast. The political organization, the favored merchants, and the friars opposed the extension of governmental powers to the natives, and continued to crush out that personal initiative which is

the chief foe to absolutism. In political affairs, from the governorship down to the pettiest office which attracted the cupidity of the Spaniard, there prevailed avarice, favoritism, and dishonesty. One has but to read the record of such maladministration by John Foreman, in his work on the Philippine Islands to understand the nature of Spanish government. Positions which had a salary or fees sufficient to support a Spaniard were invariably given them rather than to natives. The broad and almost absolute administrative powers of the governor were checked only in name by the organization in 1850 of a board of authorities composed of the higher military, naval, judicial and ecclesiastical officers, and in 1863 by the grouping of the subordinate executive officials into a council of administration. Down to the close of Spanish rule the governor was a petty despot unrestrained except by his own conscience and the need of keeping on good terms with the friars.

Below the governor or captain-general were the provincial governors who for many years looked upon their offices simply as means of extorting money from the natives, or of securing favorable trade-monopolies within the province. Offices were sold for more than the income attached to them, or were filled by favorites of the governor,—"a barber or a governor's lackey, a sailor or a deserter." After 1844 the provincial governors were forbidden to engage in trade, and thereafter the office was not so desirable. In few cases, however, was encouragement given to an honest and well-meaning official. Favoritism, a change in the higher officers, or trouble with the friars might at any time terminate his tenure of office. The provincial governor up to 1886 had been *alcalde mayor,* that is, the chief judicial officer of his province; and in this capacity, it was his duty to hear judicial appeals made against his own executive edicts; and when an appeal was taken from him as judge to the Manila authorities, he was referred to, without any independent investigation, for the necessary information respecting the case. Under such circumstances there was practically no check

upon his actions except the fear of insurrection or of the opposition of the friars.

This official was postmaster-general of his province, he had supervision over telegraphs, prisons, charities, public health, public works, and primary education; he must enforce the laws respecting forests, mines, agriculture and industry; he must maintain order, bring delinquents to justice, and regulate the civil guards; he must preside at elections and issue orders for the government of towns, but he had no control over the disposal of local taxes. The greater part of the taxes collected in each province was spent outside of the province, usually upon the salaries of officials of the central government. There was a great amount of supervision and little real work performed. Indeed, respecting roads and bridges, the Taft Commission reported that "the policy of the Spanish administration during all the years of its occupancy seems to have been one of isolation." (Taft report, p. 72.)

Probably the most notoriously corrupt and inefficient part of the Spanish administration was the judicial organization. Sawyer *(The Inhabitants of the Philippines,* p. 27), says, "The records of these courts from the earliest times is one long-continued infamy." Says Foreman *(The Philippine Islands,* p. 267), "No one experienced in the colony ever thought of presenting a captured brigand; for whoever might be the legal adviser retained, a criminal or civil law suit in the Philippines was one of the worst calamities that could befall a man. Between notaries, procurators, solicitors, barristers and the sluggish process of the courts, a litigant was fleeced of his money, often worried into a bad state of health, and kept in horrible suspense and doubt for years." The Taft Philippine Commission writes *(Report,* p. 81-82), "The practical working of the existing code is to secure injustice instead of justice. Business men refuse to go into the courts with their controversies, because it is better to submit to the loss of their claims than to be robbed under the forms of law. The procedure seems skillfully

adapted to the promotion of delay, expense and denial of justice."

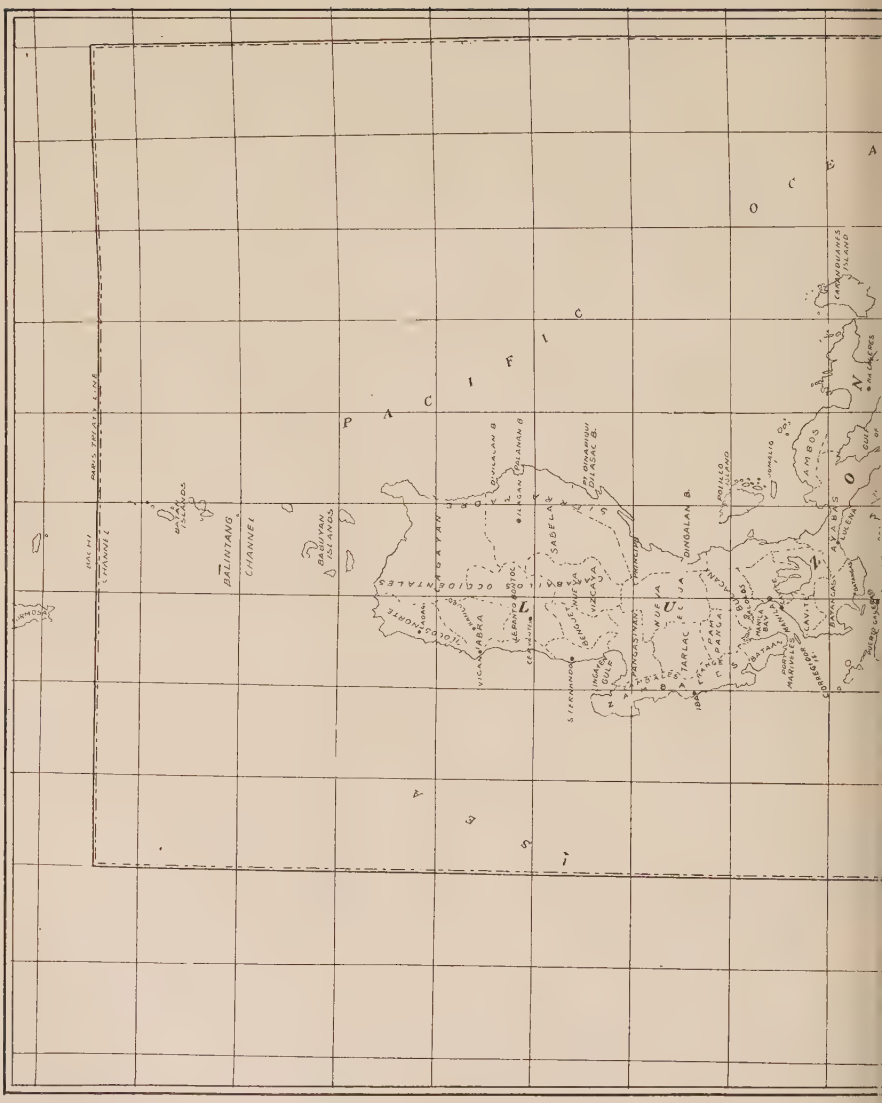
Judges of the courts were almost always Spaniards; and while the codes of law appear to have been beneficent, the rules of procedure, and the organization of the courts encouraged delay and corruption. Court officers were paid insignificant salaries or none at all, and were dependent upon fees or the payments made to them by litigants. Native lawyers added their ingenuity and pertinacity to the intricacies of Spanish law, and barratry was a common practice, from the dangers of which no one was free. The wealthy English banking firm, the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, was engaged in a twelve-year legal contest with certain Spanish claimants, who were supported in turn by a syndicate of Philippine capitalists formed to fleece the bank.

Another feature of the Spanish colonial government which played a large part in arousing the anger of the people, was the system of tribute, of forced labor upon the roads, and of personal registration papers, through which a large part of the income of the insular government was obtained. Tribute had been required from the natives from the time of the conquest, and it continued until 1884. At about that date it amounted to $1.17 a year, to which was added the sum of three dollars as a poll-tax, for all those who did not choose to labor forty days a year for the government. The system of enforced labor, while leading to much corruption among the officials, yet furnished a class of labor needed upon the roads. The highways were in a deplorable condition, but had the Spanish government been compelled to pay cash for all the labor performed upon them, it is to be feared there would have been no highways. An attempt, made in 1883, to require all persons, with the exception of political and ecclesiastical officers, to work fifteen days for the State, failed. In the following year the tribute was abolished, and its place taken by a poll-tax based upon the customs of Spain. All persons above the age of eighteen years were compelled to

possess a *cédula personal,* or receipt for the payment of poll-tax, which varied in cost from twenty-five dollars to a dollar and a half. If the *cédula* payment was less than three dollars and a half, the person could be compelled to work for the government fifteen days in each year. The *cédula* must be annually renewed, and must be produced whenever required by the government authorities; suits at law and all business with government agents could be initiated only after the *cédulas* of the parties concerned had been shown.

In the enforcement of the laws respecting taxes and compulsory labor, as well as in many other ways, the friars assisted the political authorities. The history of the islands in the nineteenth century tells a different story from that of the friars' influence in the pacification of the islands, and their work in civilizing the inhabitants in early times. In 1835 the lands of the monastic orders in Spain were expropriated by the government, and thereafter many members of the orders went to the Philippines, where positions were found for them at the expense of the native clergy, who from that time were excluded from the orders. The Spanish orders were hostile to the higher education of the natives or to teaching them the Spanish language. One cause of the unpopularity of the orders was their large holdings of land and their relations to tenants and to rival claimants. In 1898 the friars, numbering 1,013 persons, and administering 817 out of a total of 967 parishes, held 420,000 acres of land situated mainly in the most profitable agricultural districts of Luzón. In general their relations to their tenants were not tolerant; their leases ran for only three years, and the tenant could not transfer his lease without the consent of the order.

But more than anything else, the friar, in the mind of the Filipino, stood for all that was obnoxious in the Spanish government. The Taft report gives a list of the duties and powers of the friar within his town, which, if they were all exercised, must have gone far toward making him unpopular. He was the spiritual guide and confessor of the entire


PACIFIC OCEAN
PARIS TREATY LINE
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BALAN ISLANDS
BALINTANG CHANNEL
BABUYAN ISLANDS
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DILASAC B.
SABELA
DINGALAN B.
POTILLO ISLAND
JOMALIG
CARANDUANES ISLAND
AMBOS
AYABAS
LUCENA
BATANGAS
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MANILA
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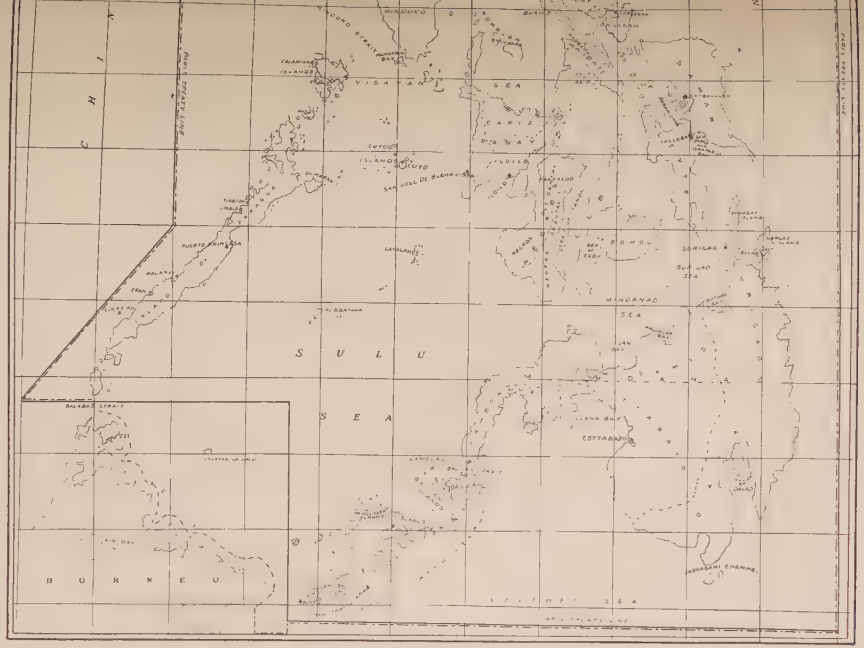


Map of the Philippines. *Based on the map in the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, Washington.*

population; was usually the only person of education in the village and often the only resident possessing a knowledge of the Spanish language. Among the functions which by law he discharged were those of inspector of primary schools, president of the boards of health, of charities, of urban taxation, of statistics, and of public works; he was inspector of taxation and certified to the correctness of all *cédulas,* and he must be present at all town elections. He inspected the food for the local prison, he examined the pupils of the schools, he advised the municipal council, supervised the choice of the police force, and drew up lists from which men were drafted for military service. It is scarcely possible that any group of persons, no matter with how much wisdom they were endowed, could have exercised these functions in a developing society without arousing intense opposition. And unfortunately the friars were not always wise. Direct charges of immorality against the great body of the monks cannot be substantiated, but undoubtedly the orders were ultra-conservative, and in many cases arrogant and vindictive toward those who favored more liberal ideas.

Finally, the friar, as the representative of the Roman Catholic church, strongly opposed the native secret organizations which in the last years of the century caught the fancy of the native for the uncanny, and furnished him with a rallying point for his new national feeling. Beginning about 1860 with the introduction of the Masonic rites by some liberal Spaniards in the military service, a few wealthy Filipinos were admitted to them, and these afterward formed lodges among the natives. The radical leaders soon saw the value of the secret organization, the symbolism, and the fraternal spirit of the Masonic order,—features which had given it a similar popularity among European radicals. From Masonic lodges the radicals advanced to broader reform organizations,—the "Association Hispano-Filipino", and the "Liga Filipina" founded by Dr. Rizal. The Philippine Masonry rapidly degenerated from the form of its prototype into a mixture of Masonic rites and Christian saint-worship,

with ancient superstition and barbaric customs. Its central feature was the blood-compact, similar to that which Magellan had contracted with one of the chiefs, by which the blood taken from the arm or leg of the brother was used to sign the roll of membership, and the scar was useful in later identification of members. The organization, perfected by Andres Bonifacio came to be known as "The League,"—*Katipunan;* and against it the friars brought to bear all their weapons of a political and ecclesiastical nature. The confessional was used to search out its secrets; the fear of excommunication and damnation was held over the members; fines, imprisonment, and banishment awaited the brother or the suspects. But the association appealed to the imagination and love of mysticism among the natives and flourished in spite of the monastic opposition; the natives believed they could be good Catholics and continue members of the *Katipunan.* The friar destroyed his own position rather than that of the national society which he attacked.

The first significant national outbreak occurred in 1872 when some native troops at Cavite rebelled, and, although the movement does not appear to have been widespread, the authorities took advantage of the opportunity to put to death three native priests who had demanded the expulsion of the friars and the enforcement of the decree of the Council of Trent respecting the occupation of parishes by the monastic brethren. Others known to be connected with the Masonic orders, or suspected of holding advanced views were sentenced to life imprisonment or banishment. The revolt was easily suppressed, but the violence and vindictiveness of the authorities and friars in persecuting persons unconnected with the affair left a strong impression upon the Philippine mind.

A second step in the national movement came in the literary works of Dr. José Rizal, the most noted of which were his novels depicting the evils of Philippine monasticism, and entitled *Noli me Tangere,* and *El Filibusterismo.* Rizal was sent as a youth to Europe to complete his education, and

after studying at Madrid, Paris, and in Germany, he became a skilled physician. While abroad in 1886 he wrote his first work against the friars, and this was followed shortly afterward by *El Filibusterismo,* which under the thin veil of a novel's plot, pointed out the probability of revolution if the friars did not surrender their privileges. Returning to the islands he encouraged the native semi-political associations, and after years of conflict with the friars, he was at last found guilty of sedition and rebellion, and was publicly shot on December 30, 1896. In honesty and uprightness of purpose, in clearness of political insight, in the virtues of self-control, moderation and patriotism, he stands for the best in the Filipino character; and he occupies a position altogether unique in the history of the islands.

Of a far different character was Emilio Aguinaldo, who succeeded Rizal in Philippine leadership, but who never secured the popular esteem which was accorded to Rizal. Born near Manila about 1869, he derived from his mother a strain of Chinese blood. He received a secondary education in the University of Santo Tomás at Manila, but left that institution to follow his father's occupation of farming. At an early age he appears in the civil list as captain-municipal of Cavite. He became interested in the *Katipunan* society through its president, Andres Bonifacio, and soon desired to lead in its councils. It was in his home,—old Cavite, —that the plot of 1872 had been laid; and in that town, at about the time when Aguinaldo was reaching his twenty-fifth year the secret societies were developing their conspiracies against the friars.

A petition from natives favoring the exclusion of the friars, and the placing of native priests in their places, had been presented to the authorities in 1886, the year in which Rizal's work, *Noli me Tangere,* appeared. But the right of petition was not recognized at Manila, and, encouraged by the friars, the authorities persecuted and banished most of those who had signed the document. The feeling aroused by this action was heightened by the frequent deportation of

suspects upon the advice of the friars; and when the Spanish authorities determined to repopulate a district in Mindanao which had been devastated by the Moro wars, the friars, under the fiction of encouraging immigration, secured the removal of radical and aggressive Tagálogs from the more settled communities. All these actions, combined with the strenuous opposition of the orders to the secret societies, led to the real growth of the native movement, and added to the strength of the *Katipunan*. The rights of the natives which could not be secured according to the forms of law, became the dearer in imagination the longer they were withheld; and revolution or the surrender of the friars became the only alternatives. The latter was psychologically impossible, and the former was the inevitable result.

In Cavite the conspiracies were thickest, and on account of his connection with them, Aguinaldo was forced to flee to Hong Kong. In a few months he was back, and on August 20, 1896, an armed attack was made upon the Spanish soldiers; Filipinos by the thousands gathered in the settled provinces of Luzón, and, actuated by a thirst for revenge or love of plunder, joined in depredations upon Spanish property or attacks upon the friars. The latter were frequently treated with great cruelty and sometimes tortured to death. The Madrid authorities early realized the serious nature of the uprising, and by December had increased the Spanish forces from fifteen hundred men at the time of the outbreak, to about ten thousand men. The cruelties of the native forces were almost equalled by those inflicted by Spaniards upon prisoners and suspected persons. But retaliation and atrocities did not intimidate the Filipinos; their bands, numbering many thousands in the fall of 1896, controlled the province of Cavite and the territory up to within a few miles of the capital city. Captain-General Blanco was displaced by Camilo Polavieja, a friend of the friars, under whom the Spanish military forces were soon raised to twenty-eight thousand men. Unable even with this force to suppress the rebels, Polavieja demanded further reinforcements,

The Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Manila.

and when these were not sent, he resigned his position. Fernando Primo de Rivera succeeded him in the spring of 1897.

During these months the rebels had not openly demanded independence; their cry was, "Long live Spain; death to the Friars." Their demands, as expressed in a Tagálog proclamation of July, 1897, included the expulsion of the friars and the restoral to the township of the lands they occupied, the concession of parliamentary representation, freedom of the press, religious toleration, and equality of all persons before the law. Shortly after this, however, Aguinaldo, in another proclamation, spoke guardedly of independence. But independence and reforms were temporarily lost by the signing of the treaty of Biacnabató in December, 1897. By this arrangement, perfected through the diplomacy of the Filipino half-caste Pedro Paterno, in consideration of the payment to them of the sum of $1,700,000, Aguinaldo and the other insurgent leaders agreed to leave the islands and obtain the surrender of the arms and ammunition of their followers, while Governor Rivera is said to have promised in an indefinite way and without any written record, to bring about some of the desired reforms.

The treaty resulted in the payment to the insurgent leaders of $400,000, only one-fourth of the promised sum; in their exile to Hong Kong and Singapore, and in the disorganization of the rebellion by the bribery and exile of its leaders. But the Spanish failed to follow up these advantages by conciliatory measures for quieting the natives. In China, the leaders quarrelled over the disposition of the funds; in the Philippines, continued severity against suspected persons kept alive the enmity to Spain; the publication of a Manila journal was suspended because it had ventured to print an article demanding an autonomous government; in April, 1898, insurrection broke out in Cebú, an island which had previously been peaceful; and, with the assistance of the Junta of politicians in Hong Kong and Singapore, Luzón again became the seat of armed rebellion.

But by this time war had been declared between the United States and Spain, and the Tagálog insurrection thereupon entered upon its second stage.

CHAPTER IX

AMERICAN RULE IN THE PHILIPPINES

WHILE Admiral Dewey, in the early part of the year 1898 in pursuance of orders from Washington, was preparing to attack the Spanish power in the Philippines, the Filipino leaders in China were seeking permission to join his expedition. The American authorities realized that the rebels against Spain might prove useful in the prosecution of the American military and naval plans. But the exiled Philippine leaders had lost caste with the rebels because of the questionable financial operations by which they were induced to leave the islands, and there was some doubt whether the leaders would be received in a friendly manner if they attempted to return. When an American attack upon the Spaniards in the Philippines was impending, and the chance of return under American auspices arose before Aguinaldo, he at once promised a disposal of the funds according to the military necessities of the Filipino cause.

Two agents of the exiles who were carried over to the islands by Dewey's expedition, were put ashore by the admiral, and travelling among the insurgents, received assurances that the principal leaders could with safety return. In interviews with Consul-General Wildman at Hong Kong, Aguinaldo promised to assist the United States against Spain, and expressed his desire for American citizenship, and for an American protectorate over the islands. (Edwin Wildman, *Aguinaldo,* p. 72.) The consul, believing Aguinaldo's

presence would strengthen the American cause, gave him passage to the islands on the dispatch-boat *McCulloch*. Arriving at Cavite on May 19, 1898, Aguinaldo had an interview with Admiral Dewey, and thereafter was permitted to land. Probably the chief necessity of the American admiral was a Filipino chief who would hold in check the lawless bands of insurgents at the time threatening to break down Spanish authority, and ready to commit outrages throughout the islands before American troops could reach Manila. The event proved that Aguinaldo could accomplish this result.

The relations of Aguinaldo to the American authorities at this time were of an uncertain nature. He was a useful man as a friend; a dangerous man as an enemy; and the energies of the American officers were directed to securing his influence in winning over the insurgents to the American cause. That no formal recognition was ever made of his position as president in a so-called Philippine republic, and that no direct promise was ever given him respecting the future independence of the islands, cannot be questioned. In reply to charges made by Aguinaldo, Admiral Dewey told the "Schurman" Philippine Commission, "The statement of Emilio Aguinaldo, under date of September 23d, published in the Springfield *Republican,* so far as it relates to reported conversations with me, or actions of mine, is a tissue of falsehoods. I never directly or indirectly promised the Filipinos independence. I never received Aguinaldo with military honors, or recognized or saluted the so-called Filipino flag. I never considered him as an ally, although I did make use of him and the natives to assist me in my operations against the Spaniards." On the other hand, it must be admitted that his frequent intercourse with American officials gave Aguinaldo an exalted opinion of his own position, and naturally led to inferences by him which were never intended by his American friends. Lacking in a sense of humor, and always carrying through his part of the meetings with the formalities of a high official, he could easily attach a deeper significance to the acts of American

officials than was warranted by the facts or by the instructions sent to the officers from Washington.

After his return to the islands, Aguinaldo organized the native forces, seized the Spanish arsenal at Cavite, secured ammunition from Dewey and through Consul Wildman at Hong Kong, and soon drove the Spanish forces into Manila. He then set to work to organize a government, first appointing himself dictator; on June 12th, he declared the Philippines to be independent, and on the 18th, promulgated a revolutionary constitution; he erected executive offices, and frequently proclaimed in public his ultimate purpose of obtaining independence for the islands. In this work of rhetorical proclamations, Aguinaldo was used by and made use of a group of shrewd Filipinos and half-castes in Manila, who together with many wealthy residents of the islands, joined the new movement for independence.

During the weeks preceding the land battle of Manila on August 13, 1898, the relations of the American and Filipino commanders became more strained. Aguinaldo demanded recognition of his republic, or at least that he be informed of the intentions of the American government with reference to the future of the islands. General Wesley Merritt, upon arrival, received no communication from Aguinaldo, nor did he consider it wise to enter upon any negotiations with the insurgent leader until after the surrender of Manila. The attack upon the city on August 13, 1898, while joined in irregularly by some native troops, was carried mainly by the American forces, and after the surrender of Manila, General Merritt refused to permit a joint occupation with the insurgents. The booty and plunder for which the rebels had been waiting for months was thus removed from their grasp. Aguinaldo then demanded a share in the civil government of the city and various military and naval advantages. To this, under instructions from Washington, a reply was made rejecting joint occupation and requiring all persons to recognize the paramount authority of the United States. Aguinaldo now withdrew

from the neighborhood of Manila, and fixed his capital at Malolos. From that place, during the fall of 1898, the orders issued by the insurrectionary government were obeyed throughout the greater part of the islands not actually held by Spanish or American forces. A newspaper favoring Philippine independence, called *La Independencia,* was published during October in Manila, and when suppressed by Major-General Elwell S. Otis, its publication was resumed at Malolos.

Thus the Filipino mind was being prepared for the movement against the United States forces; Aguinaldo's organization was increasing in strength and the national sentiment was crystallizing, while at Paris and in the United States the question of the final disposition of the islands was being discussed. By December, 1898, the revolutionary government was in control of almost the entire archipelago, and held as prisoners eleven thousand Spanish soldiers and civilians. After the treaty of Paris had been signed in December, 1898, the intentions of the United States government to retain the archipelago became known in the islands. Previously many of the inhabitants had hoped for independence or some form of a protectorate under American authority, but these hopes were dispelled by a proclamation issued early in January, 1899, in President McKinley's name by General Marcus P. Miller at Iloilo on the island of Panay. The proclamation embodied the provisions of international law which were promulgated in Cuba and Porto Rico upon the assumption of military control in those islands. It was stated that according to the treaty of Paris, the future control, disposition and government of the islands rested with the United States; that the authority of the new government would be used to secure the safety of persons and property in the islands; and that the Americans "come not as invaders and conquerors, but as friends to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights." The earnest and paramount aim of the military authorities was stated to be the winning of

"the confidence, respect and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation, substituting the sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule." On December 21, 1898, and January 1, 1899, the military commander received instructions from Washington to the effect that "it is most important that there be no conflict with the insurgents."

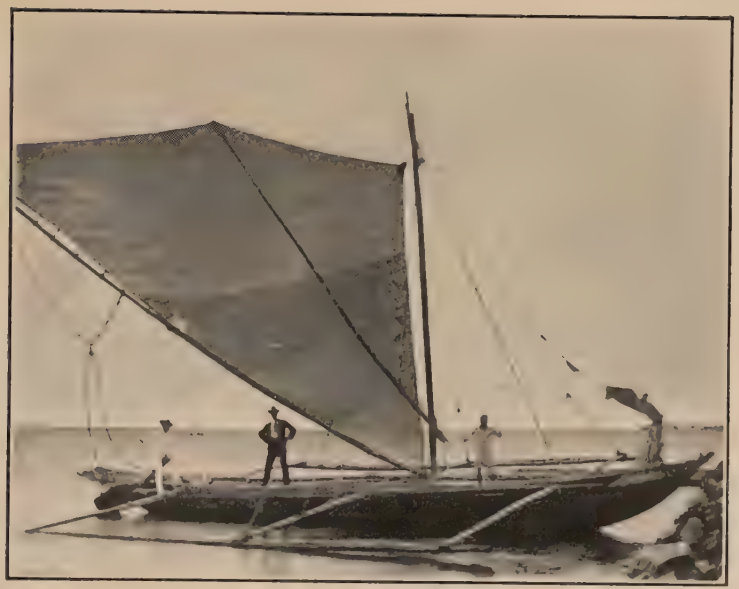
Immediately after the publication of General Miller's proclamation, public sentiment among the Filipinos was aroused to action. General Otis in Manila issued another proclamation, expressing the orders of the president in somewhat less categorical form; but this also failed to win over the Filipinos to the American cause. The insurgents surrounded Manila and threw up entrenchments about the city; within the walls there were continual alarms of native outbreaks against the Americans; and as early as January 9, 1899, Aguinaldo appears to have laid his plans for an attack upon the American forces (*Report* of Major-General Otis, May 14, 1900, p. 200). Conditions along the picket lines and within the city were ripe for a conflict. Apparently there was no possibility of an aversion of armed contest. The American commander had permitted the insurgents to undertake preparations for a war, and, bound as he was by his instructions, he could take no forcible measures to prevent their arming. At last this very kindness and forbearance "were taken as a proof of cowardice," and an insurgent attack became only a matter of time.

On the night of February 4, 1899, the tension of self-control was broken by an American outpost firing upon some Filipinos who had crept close to the American lines. Immediately afterward a fusillade opened along the line; the Filipinos tried to break their way into the city, arouse the native population, and set fire to the city. On the American side, the men gladly rushed over the limits which

military discipline had placed upon their movements, and, after weeks of scowling and scoffing across the lines, now felt relief in direct operations against the enemy. The attacks of the Filipinos were repeated on the nights of February 5th, 6th, and 10th, but in each case they were repulsed, and the American troops extended their lines to a considerable distance from Manila. An irregular proposal from the Filipinos for a truce was curtly repelled by the American military authorities upon technical grounds, and the war continued.

On February 22d, an uprising of the natives of the city was attempted, and fires were started in several quarters during the night. A fire in the Santa Cruz suburb was scarcely checked, when another was started in the Tondo district. This could not be extinguished and was permitted to burn itself out. In the meantime, a more destructive blaze nearer the centre of the city had been started, and this was checked only by the extreme measure of blowing up buildings. Throughout the night the insurgents shot at the firefighters, attempted to cut the fire hose, and even threw up entrenchments in one quarter of the town. Not until five o'clock in the afternoon of February 23d, was the city free from the dual dangers of fire and rebellion.

Following the insurgent attacks upon Manila, the American forces advanced from the city, in the effort to break up the military and political organization of the rebels. The army, numbering in February, 1899, about twenty-one thousand officers and enlisted men, was not sufficient to garrison the interior towns, and consequently the advance of the American troops did not result in a permanent occupation of the country. The Filipino tactics usually consisted in digging rifle-pits and entrenchments, behind which they hoped to check for months an American advance; but the energy of the American attacks completely surprised an enemy accustomed to the Spanish leisurely military tactics. As a result, fortifications were frequently abandoned before the attacking American troops reached them. When, in



Filipino pram, and Customs Landing at Joló.

March, a turning movement upon the insurgent capital of Malolos was planned and executed, the troops, while charging positions which might have been impregnable if held by a resolute enemy, found the trenches deserted, and the capital was captured with scarcely any resistance. Aguinaldo and his elusive governmental machinery, however, escaped to the interior. From this time onward to the beginning of the rainy season, the progress of the columns of American troops was rarely delayed, and never permanently checked by the rebels. Secretary of War Root believed that a column of troops could have been sent with little difficulty to any part of Luzón.

The advent of the rainy season, and the necessity of sending home the soldiers whose terms of enlistment had expired, caused a cessation of aggressive military operations. The American positions in central Luzón were held, but no attempt was made to conquer the island. By November, 1899, the reconstruction of the army was completed, many reinforcements had been sent out to the islands, and the total American force had been raised to over forty-seven thousand officers and men.

In October, 1899, offensive operations were undertaken on a large scale, the purpose being to sweep over the plain of central Luzón, which stretches one hundred and twenty miles northward from Manila. Three columns of troops were sent out over this territory, and after a month's campaigning, the insurgent armies were dispersed, the new capital at Tarlac was seized, and the insurgent treasurer, the secretary of the interior and other officers were captured. The formal organization of the insurrection was disrupted, and its leaders were compelled to change their tactics. The new warfare was complicated by American ignorance of the native language, the difficulty of identifying obnoxious persons among the natives, and the ease with which a rebel could cast off his uniform, hide his arms, and become, to all outward appearances, an *amigo*. From the outbreak of the rebellion the American forces had faced

these difficulties, but now that formal military organization no longer existed, guerrilla warfare suddenly undertaken by seeming friends, became the principal mode of Filipino opposition to the American occupation of the islands. A Filipino council of war decided, on November 12, 1899, that the insurgent forces should retire to their respective provinces, and therein continue the war solely by guerrilla methods.

Naturally the new tactics of the enemy compelled a similar modification of the American plans; instead of large columns of troops directed against definite objectives, the army was split into small units, occupying posts scattered throughout the disloyal districts. Between November 1, 1899, and September 1, 1900, in pursuance of the new policy, the number of military stations was increased from 53 to 413. The insurgents were frequently aided by the inhabitants of the locality in which guerrilla operations were being conducted; and, either under duress, or because of the feeling of ethnical consciousness, contributions were in many cases regularly paid to their support. In some districts the newly organized municipal governments, with officers who had sworn fealty to the American government, possessed a duplicate municipal organization, including at times even the same personnel, which collected supplies for the insurgent cause, and assisted the guerrilla warfare. Under such conditions the advance in real American control could be made but slowly, and only by a combination of force and conciliation which would repress disorder and treachery while encouraging peaceably inclined inhabitants.

More than a year passed under these conditions, during which the American army was raised to seventy-four thousand men, occupying 502 military stations situated in all the important cities or towns of the archipelago. Up to December, 1900, the connivance of the town inhabitants with the guerrilla forces was not severely punished, and rebels were frequently simply disarmed and allowed to go at large. The policy of leniency, however, failed to root

out the rebellion, and on December 20, 1900, a proclamation was issued giving warning that the laws of war would be more rigidly enforced in the islands. This was followed by the deportation to Guam of dangerous insurgent leaders, and by aggressive measures from the various stations against the guerrillas. Simultaneously throughout the islands the new repressive measures were put into force, and by November of 1901 the rebels were everywhere defeated and all their leaders were captured except Lukban operating in the island of Samar, and Malvar in Luzón. These refused to surrender voluntarily and active operations against them resulted in the capture or surrender of both in April, 1902. By May 1, 1902, the islands were declared by the military authorities to be pacified.

By far the most brilliant exploit in connection with the Filipino insurrection was the capture of Aguinaldo by Brigadier-General Frederick Funston in March, 1901. Taking advantage of an intercepted letter from Aguinaldo to his brother asking for four hundred troops, a reply was forwarded to him to the effect that the troops would be sent, together with several American prisoners. Following this a band of seventy Macabebes, together with General Funston and four other Americans in the guise of prisoners, was landed on the east coast, and communicating their desire to reinforce Aguinaldo to the officers of the neighboring towns, they easily secured guides to his place of retreat, ninety miles away. Keeping up the fiction to the last, the Macabebes waited until Aguinaldo was ready to receive them, and then rushed upon him and his subordinates. With little opposition the insurgent chief was captured. Funston in this exploit contributed largely to the suppression of the rebellion, for Aguinaldo's capture was soon followed by the seizure or surrender of the other rebel leaders still in arms.

After the pacification of 1902 in the northern islands, the races of the Sulu archipelago and other southern islands remained to be quieted. In July, 1899, General J. C. Bates

was sent from Manila to Joló, and ordered to reach an agreement concerning the relations of the sultan, his subordinate chiefs, or *datos,* and his subjects to the United States government. After much negotiation, a treaty with the sultan was signed on August 20, 1899, which, for some time continued to be the basis of government in the sultan's territory. It provided that the "rights and dignities of his highness, the sultan, and his datos" should be respected; it left the chiefs in complete local control of their tribal organizations, and it tacitly permitted the continuance of polygamy and of that semi-servile, semi-feudal relationship existing between the chiefs and the people of the poorer class. The sultan, however, failed to respect the terms of the treaty, he was unable or unwilling to preserve order among the subordinate chieftains, and in 1902 a punitive expedition against certain hostile Moros of Mindanao was dispatched, which appeared to have the effect of quieting the inhabitants.

The Bates treaty was submitted to Congress on February 1, 1900, but was never acted upon by that body; and in 1903 after frequent requests for its abrogation by the military commanders, it was set aside and a military government established in the province. This action brought forth renewed outbreaks of the natives and their chiefs, and, for several years after the pacification of the principal northern islands, unsettled conditions existed in the islands inhabited by the Moros.

By the year 1904, however, the military conquest of the islands may be said to have been completed. Secretary of War William H. Taft could say in his report dated November 28, 1904, that the forces of the United States had been engaged in no military action in the preceding year, with the exception of a few skirmishes in Joló and Mindanao. The Philippines were formally at peace. The early policy of military leniency which had given such scope to the treacherous tactics of the Filipinos, had been displaced by a system of greater rigor, and by the use of punitive expeditions. Such measures naturally led to criticism in the

United States of the administration's methods, and resulted in an investigation by the Senate committee on the Philippines. That individual instances of cruelty had occurred, that the barbarous methods of native warfare occasionally led to similar acts by the American troops, that in a few cases torture, even in the form of the Spanish method of the "water-cure" by which water was poured down the captive's throat until he was ready to give information rather than suffocate,—that such cases had occurred could not be denied; but they were neither the practice of the army nor did they characterize the general conduct of the army. The most serious charge made against the American troops is that they gave no quarter to the enemy in battle and this charge seems substantiated by the reports of the large number of killed and the small proportion of wounded among the Filipinos.

The maintenance of order after its establishment by the United States army has, as far as possible, been left to the native authorities. Governor Taft believed it "most important that Filipinos should suppress Filipino disturbances and arrest Filipino outlaws"; and for this purpose the constabulary of the several municipalities and provinces was at first used. This did not prove altogether successful and Congress by the acts of February 2, 1901, and January 30, 1903, provided for the enlistment of Filipinos as scouts to be officered and trained under the authority of the United States army. This body of scouts together with the constabulary has usually been adequate for the suppression of disorders in the more settled parts of the archipelago. In 1904-05, however, it became necessary to bring the regular troops to the aid of the scouts and constabulary in the suppression of a rebellion in Samar, and the overthrow of a force of about five hundred ladrones or others in the provinces of Cavite and Batangas in Luzón. In the latter districts the ladrones received aid from the native population, and the extreme measure was taken of requiring the concentration of the population in certain garrison towns. By this

step, and by means of night attacks upon the robber bands, all but about a score of the ladrones were captured.

The subjection of the natives to the military power of the United States was essential to the future orderly government of the islands, if the United States intended to retain control of them; but this subjection was not an end in itself; it was simply the means through which the benevolent intentions of the American nation toward the islands might ultimately be executed. Without respect for the institutions which were about to be erected under American auspices; without local peace, order, and settled economic conditions, no permanent advance could be made toward the better conditions of life and government which were the goal of American occupation. Altruism had played a part in securing the islands from Spain in the treaty of Paris; and a similar desire to advance the true interests of the archipelago is seen in the administrative reforms introduced by the Americans. Before discussing the governmental history of the islands, a few quotations may be given to show the intentions of American statesmen in Philippine affairs.

President McKinley, in his instructions to the Paris peace commissioners said that the battle of Manila had imposed obligations upon the United States from which it could not withdraw. During the fall of 1898 frequent instructions were sent to the officers in the Philippines bidding them avoid conflicts with the natives; and almost as frequent announcements of the benevolent intentions of the United States were made. The "Schurman" Commission reported that "in view of the ignorance and political inexperience of the masses of the people, the multiplicity of languages, the divergencies of culture and mode of life, and the obstacles to intercommunication, an independent sovereign Philippine State" was at that time neither possible nor desirable. The commission believed that the islands "need the tutelage and protection of the United States;" in order that, in the opinion of the natives, they may in due time become self-governing and independent.

But the most definite statement of the attitude of the United States toward the Philippines, a statement which is one of the greatest of President McKinley's state papers, and which breathes a tolerant spirit of "sweetness and light," is to be found in his instructions dated April 7, 1900, to the second Philippine Commission. Probably no more reasonable and charitable basis for colonial government is to be found in the history of modern colonization. Realizing the defects of the strong Spanish centralized government, the president directed that as large a share of political power as possible should be granted to small units, and the presumption was "always to be in favor of the smaller subdivision, so that all the powers which can properly be exercised by the municipal government shall be vested in that government, and all the powers of a more general character which can be exercised by the departmental government shall be vested in that government, so that in the governmental system, which is the result of the process, the central government of the islands,—following the example of the distribution of the powers between the States and the national government of the United States, shall have no direct administration except of matters of purely general concern, and shall have only such supervision and control over local governments as may be necessary to secure and enforce faithful and efficient administration by local officers." This principle would prevent building up a bureaucratic system upon the Spanish model.

While differences of civilization, of customs, and of the capacity of the people for self-government made it impossible to give a definite instruction concerning the part to be taken by the people in the choice of their officers, yet the president directed "that in all cases the municipal officers who administer the local affairs of the people are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected, in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and, if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to

receive the offices in preference to any other." This policy was a complete reversal of the Spanish practice; for in the Philippines, particularly in the years following the opening of the Suez Canal when hundreds of Spanish adventurers came to the islands, public offices were considered a matter of private gain for the resident Spaniards.

Again, the president directed the commission to bear in mind "that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands; and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government." While this was true, yet the commission and the people of the islands were cautioned to remember that certain great principles of government, which in America are deemed essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual liberty, had formerly been denied to the Philippines, and that now, even if contrary to their existing customs, these principles must be extended to the islands for the sake of their liberty and happiness. Then follows in the president's instructions a summary of those individual rights granted by the United States constitution and its amendments, which should be extended to the Philippines. The commission is directed to secure a "real, entire, and absolute" separation of church and state; it is made their duty to promote, extend and improve the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities, making provision, whenever possible, for the study of the English language.

The uncivilized tribes living in peace and contentment under a tribal organization, and unable or unwilling to conform to the surrounding civilization, should be permitted to retain their tribal customs, while, at the same time "constant and active efforts should be exercised to prevent barbarous practices and introduce civilized customs." The in-

Pupils of a native school at Guagua, Pampanga, Philippine Islands.

structions enjoin all American officers to show proper respect for the material, personal and social rights of the people of the islands; they refer to the sacred obligation resting upon the United States to protect these rights; and close with the hope that through the labors of the commission "all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila."

The true originality of this executive document lies not in its democratic ideals, for many colonies have been ruled upon a more democratic basis than the one proposed therein; nor in the president's benevolent paternalism, a quality which has throttled many a colonial possession; but rather in the attempt to combine the two methods of government. Paternalism in a measure there must be in the Philippines; but the paternalism of President McKinley differed from that of the Spanish priest in the character of its ultimate purpose. The Spaniard aimed at quiescence, and frequently caused stagnation; the American aimed at rational self-control, and national development. The one strove to perpetuate the condition of dependence; the other held out the prospects of the individual initiative, the widening possibilities, and the deeper responsibilities of a democratic society. The ultimate goal of such a policy is political independence; and while President McKinley appears to have studiously avoided such a suggestion, yet the "Schurman" Commission faced the logical outcome, and expressed the belief that "independence after an undefined period of American training is the aspiration and goal of the intelligent Filipinos who today so strenuously oppose the suggestion of independence at the present time."

Under the paramount authority of the military officer in command, steps were early taken to preserve the existing forms of civil government or to substitute more effective governmental machinery for the Spanish system. On August 14, 1898, General Merritt, by proclamation, directed that the existing municipal Spanish laws should be enforced in

Manila; that existing tribunals, presided over by appointees of the occupying force, should perform their duties; and that provost-marshal courts should be erected for the apprehension of military or civil offenders. With the vicissitudes of military occupation, the authority of the Spanish courts was changed from time to time; but in October, 1898, the jurisdiction of the courts outside of Manila was restored to them; and in May, 1899, the Audiencia of Manila, under the name of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, regained its authority over civil and criminal cases. As the army advanced against the insurgents and reduced district after district to submission, the former laws and court organization were reëstablished, although at times with considerable modifications. One of the most important of these changes was the authority granted to the courts to issue the writ of habeas corpus.

During the period covering the suppression of the rebellion, the continuance of the arbitrary powers of the military commanders was necessary; civil laws and tribunals, established customs and modes of procedure, even private rights gave place to the supreme military necessity. But the unsatisfactory nature of such a government became apparent as soon as extensive districts were occupied by the American forces, and the inhabitants ceased their opposition to American control. The people of the pacified provinces, according to Secretary Root, "were eager for the resumption of peaceable conditions under a government regulated by formal and public laws which should supersede the necessarily arbitrary orders of the military commander."

Before the outbreak of the insurrection of February, 1899, the president had taken steps to secure information upon which an adequate government of the islands could be based. On January 21, 1899, he announced his intention to send to the islands a "commission of eminent men," who in association with Admiral Dewey and General Otis were instructed to facilitate the most humane and effective extension of authority throughout the islands, and to secure with

the least possible delay the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants. The other members of the commission were Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell University, Charles Denby, former minister of the United States to China, and Dean C. Worcester, professor in the University of Michigan. The commissioners proceeded to the Philippines, where in public sessions and in private conferences they sought to gain information concerning the people of the islands, their experience in government, their political aspirations, and the forms of organization most suited to their needs. A preliminary report of the commission on November 2, 1899, was followed by a more comprehensive one dated December 31, 1900.

The commission advised the immediate participation of the inhabitants in the local governments, for which they appeared to be prepared. Their towns, it was said, should enjoy substantially the rights, privileges and immunities of towns in one of the territories of the United States; the provinces should be reorganized into counties, possessing functions similar to those of counties in the United States. Both towns and counties should manage their own affairs under supervision from the central authority in Manila. In discussing the form of general government to be established in the islands the commission considered three possibilities; first, that of a simple protectorate controlling the foreign relations of the islands, but not intervening in their domestic government; secondly, that of a dependent colony; and thirdly, that of a territorial government such as had been erected in the continental possessions of the United States. The suggestion of a protectorate was deemed inadvisable because the commission believed there were no local chiefs or powers who could be depended upon to maintain internal peace and order. The colonial form of government was set aside because it implied dependency, and because the very name of colony was hateful to the Filipinos; such a name, the commission said, would surely win the universal condemnation of the Filipinos for the most perfect form of

government ever devised; and against such an appellation, "on behalf of all the Filipinos," the commission protested. The third form of government, that already applied to the territories of the United States, was, therefore, the choice of the commission. The members believed that it would be safe to "extend to the Filipinos larger liberties of self-government than Jefferson approved of for the inhabitants of Louisiana." They suggested a form of government in which the legislature should be composed of an elective lower house and of an upper house one-half of which should be elected and one-half appointed.

Congress took no action toward formulating a frame of government for the islands until almost three years after the land battle of Manila. In the meantime the islands were governed under the authority of the military and civil powers of the president. Until March 2, 1901, Congress permitted the Philippines to remain simply under the military authority of the president; the Spooner Amendment of that date, however, placed them under his civil powers; in which position they rested until the passage of the Philippine Act of July 1, 1902. Early in the history of military occupation the president and his advisers analyzed the military power into the three functions of executive, legislative and judiciary; all of which, it was admitted, must often in time of actual hostilities be exercised by one person or group of persons. As conditions became more settled, however, it was deemed best to separate these three phases of the military power, and entrust each to a distinct group of officials, particularly since it was well recognized that the president in occupied territory could exercise his paramount military authority through civil agents.

Accordingly, on March 16, 1900, when a second Philippine Commission composed of five members was appointed, it was vested with the legislative authority in the islands; while the executive powers were retained by the regular military organization, and the judicial authority should be exercised by courts established under the legislation of the

commission. In this way the salutary American theory of the separation of powers was carried over into conditions which might otherwise have led to great abuses of the arbitrary military powers. The second commission was composed of William H. Taft, of Ohio, president; Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee; Henry C. Ide, of Vermont; and Bernard Moses, of California. On April 7, 1900, the commission received formal instructions, which, up to July, 1902, remained the rule of action of the insular government.

Extended quotations from these instructions have already been given in discussing the purpose and spirit of the American occupation of the islands. In addition to enjoining respect for those general principles of government, the president directed the commission, after familiarizing themselves with the conditions and needs of the islands, to proceed first to the establishment of municipal governments; to follow this by the organization of provincial governments; and, when the commission believed it to be admissible, it should recommend to the secretary of war the entire transfer of the central government from the military to civil officers. The commission was entrusted with full legislative powers in the archipelago subject to the approval of the president expressed through the secretary of war. Under this power they could make rules for the raising of a revenue by taxes, customs duties and imposts; for the appropriation of the insular funds; for the establishment of an educational system and an efficient civil service; for the erection of courts; and for the organization of municipal and provincial governments. The power of appointing officials in the judicial, educational, and civil service departments, and in the municipalities and provinces, was also vested in the commission. The commission was directed to report to the secretary of war, who, under the president, had control over all its actions.

The commission proceeded to the Philippines, and on September 1, 1900, began its legislative labors. Despite its small number of members, great care was taken to observe

the customs of legislative bodies. The principal sessions of the commission were public; its measures were introduced as bills and before being passed were printed for the convenience of the members and the public; the public was invited to submit amendments or discuss the bills; and finally the bills were publicly voted upon by the five members of the commission. It was hoped, by these measures, that the inhabitants of the islands would be made to realize that the legislative authority was desirous of advancing their interests and that public opinion would be respected in all the labors of the commission.

A further advance toward civil government was brought about by the adoption in Congress of the Spooner Amendment to the act appropriating money to the war department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902. This act, approved on March 2, 1901, contained a provision introduced by Senator John C. Spooner, of Wisconsin, which transferred the government in the Philippines from the indefinite war powers of the president to a distinct congressional basis. No change was made by the amendment in the organization of the insular government, nor any diminution in the actual powers exercised by the president and his agents, with the exception of the power to grant franchises, but a civil and statutory foundation took the place of the implied and arbitrary military authority of the president. The amendment stated that "all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Philippine Islands . . . shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct for the establishment of civil government and for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion." It required full reports of all the acts and doings of the insular government to be made annually to the president and Congress; forbade the sale or lease of public lands in the islands; and prohibited the granting of irrevocable franchises.

Thus a definite goal,—the establishment of civil government,—was before the president and his subordinates in their exercise of political and military powers in the Philippines. The president had already taken a long step toward this goal by his instructions to the Second Philippine Commission; another movement in the same direction followed shortly after the passage of the Spooner Amendment. By the spring of 1901 the pacification of the islands was almost completed, and, therefore, on June 21st of that year the president directed that all executive authority in civil matters should be transferred from the military governor to the president of the Philippine Commission, who was at the same time appointed civil governor of the islands. The civil governor was empowered to appoint all civil officers, with the advice and consent of the commission; to the governor, all municipal and provincial governments and civil officers should report; and the military commander retained control only in those districts where conditions were so unsettled that provincial civil governments could not be established.

William H. Taft, the president of the commission, was inaugurated in Manila as civil governor on July 4, 1901. In the following September the great variety of administrative offices and boards existing under Spanish rule and American military government, numbering over forty, were grouped into four executive departments, over each of which one of the members of the commission had supervision. Professor Worcester became head of the department of the interior; Mr. Wright of the department of commerce and police; Mr. Ide of the department of finance and justice; and Professor Moses of the department of public instruction. Another significant change was made at the same time, by the addition of three Filipino members to the commission; and on October 29, Mr. Wright was appointed vice-governor, to act in case of the sickness or absence of the governor. Four years later, by the act of Congress approved February 6, 1905, the title of the civil governor was changed to "governor-general."

By the fall of 1901, the provinces in which civil governments had been established, numbering 32, had an area of 74,152 square miles, and a population of 4,902,837 persons; while the provinces under military control numbered 15, with an area of 53,701 square miles, and an estimated population of 2,072,236.

During the winter of 1901-1902 both houses of Congress discussed the Philippine situation. The charges of cruelty in the conduct of military operations, the equities of the tariff as applied to the Philippines, the form of civil government, which, under the advice of the Philippine Commission, should be enacted by Congress;—these and many other phases of the question were brought into the debate. On March 8, 1902, an act temporarily to provide a revenue for the Philippine Islands was approved which ratified the tariff upon imports into the islands put into effect by the Philippine Commission on November 15, 1901. It also provided that Philippine products should be admitted into the United States upon the payment of seventy-five per cent of the rates established by the national tariff act. On July 1, 1902, the president signed an act "temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes."

This act ratified the action of the president in creating the Philippine Commission, in erecting the offices of civil governor and vice-governor, and in establishing four executive departments; and directed that, until further action by Congress, this form of government should continue. Future appointments of governor, vice-governor, members of the commission, and heads of departments should, however, be made by the president with the advice and consent of the senate. The tariff regulations of the insular government were confirmed; the inhabitants of the islands were declared to be "citizens of the Philippine Islands", and were taken under the protection of the United States; and a bill of rights for the islands was adopted. It is significant that while the bill of rights contained almost all the guarantees

Method of burial among certain tribes, and a favorite amusement of the Filipinos.

expressed in the United States constitution and its amendments, yet the list did not include the right to a jury trial nor the right to bear arms. A census of the islands was provided for; and two years after the completion and publication of the census, in case a general peace existed in the parts of the islands inhabited by Christian tribes, the commission under the direction of the president, should call a popular assembly of the people of the islands. The assembly should consist of between fifty and one hundred members, who should constitute one house of the insular legislature, the other house being the Philippine Commission. To this legislature all the legislative powers previously vested in the Philippine Commission should be granted. In this connection it may be mentioned that the census of the islands was taken in the year 1903, and the publication completed by March 27, 1905, so that if the islands continue in a state of peace, the provisions respecting an insular legislature will go into effect on March 27, 1907.

The Philippine Act of July 1, 1902, differed considerably from the acts organizing governments in Porto Rico and Hawaii. Even less than the Porto Rico fundamental law did it descend to the minutiæ of political organization. Accepting the constructive work of the president, the military governors, and the Philippine Commission, Congress did not attempt to overthrow their product and build anew. The outlines of central and local government which the American experience of four years had perfected in the islands were accepted; and practically the only new restrictions imposed upon the insular authorities were the requirement that the higher officers should be appointed with the consent of the Senate, and the provision which set a definite date for the inauguration of a popular representative system.

Under the terms of this act Civil-Governor William H. Taft retained his position until his appointment as secretary of war in February, 1904, when Luke E. Wright succeeded to the governorship. After serving only eleven months, Governor Wright was, in January, 1905, appointed

first American ambassador to Japan, and Henry C. Ide became governor in the Philippines.

Turning now from these general features of the organization of American government in the Philippines to the practical application of American political principles in the everyday life of the islands, we meet a great amount of reconstructive work. It is not possible in this work to recount all that has been attempted in the many departments of government for the improvement of the native conditions, for the development of the insular resources, for the education of the masses of the people, and for their training in democracy. Only a few facts respecting the more important features can be mentioned here.

Municipal reorganization was one of the first features to claim the attention of the American military and civil administrators in the islands. The municipal governments of the Spanish period were mainly devised for the collection of the various taxes imposed by the central government; the municipal authorities were held responsible for the payment of taxes, and often were treated in a servile manner by the higher Spanish officials. Aguinaldo, during the few months in which his authority was recognized, retained the Spanish system, and an early order of the United States military commander, in August, 1899, practically continued the old policy of local government. The first attempt to give democratic vitality to the municipalities came in an order of the military governor in March, 1900, which was followed by a more comprehensive act passed by the Philippine commission on January 31, 1901, in pursuance of the president's instructions to the commission that the municipal governments should first be erected.

Under the latter act local independence respecting local affairs, and democratic organization within the municipal governments were granted in a modified form. The municipal officers,—the president, the vice-president, and the council composed of from eight to eighteen members, were to be elected by the inhabitants for a term of two years. Electors

in the municipality were male citizens of twenty-three years of age, residents of the town for six months, who had held office under the Spaniards, or who owned real estate valued at three hundred pesos, or paid an annual tax of thirty pesos or over, or who were able to speak, read, and write either the Spanish or the English language. Delinquent taxpayers were disfranchised.

Each municipality possessed local legislative power over public health, the care of streets, the support of the local schools, police, post-office, and fire department, the laying of taxes for local purposes, and the preservation of the public peace and suppression of vice. By this act and later legislation, considerable supervising power over the municipal governments is reserved to the provincial governments, and through them to the central power, and particularly is this power seen in the appointment of local treasurers and the direction of their duties. Over six hundred municipalities have been organized under these provisions.

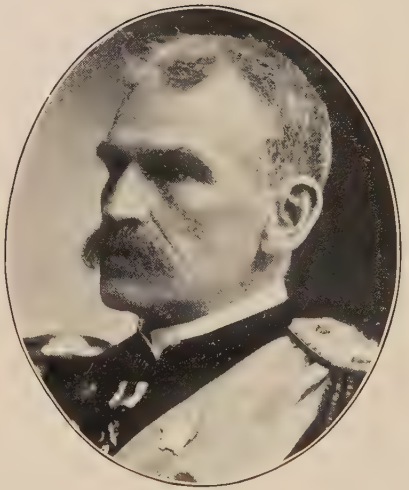
Next to the organization of the municipalities the commission was directed to erect provincial governments. Under Spanish rule there were seventy political divisions of the archipelago, but these were reduced by the American authorities to about forty. Provincial reorganization was begun by the military authorities in the island of Negros, where, on account of the early loyalty of the people, the experiment was made under favorable circumstances. The inhabitants of the island were permitted to elect delegates to a constitutional convention, which adopted a constitution and submitted its work to the military governor. In July, 1899, he promulgated the constitution as the basis of government for the island; popular elections were held for provincial and municipal officers; and the combination of a military government with a democratic organization was attempted. President McKinley was much interested in the plan, and directed the commission to inspect the workings of the government upon Negros with a view to the adoption of similar features in other provinces.

But the plan failed. The military and civil governments conflicted; the native officers proved incompetent; and the island advanced rapidly toward anarchy and rebellion. The scheme of government was found to be too democratic, and it was reluctantly given up by the commission for a form of government similar to that established in the other provinces.

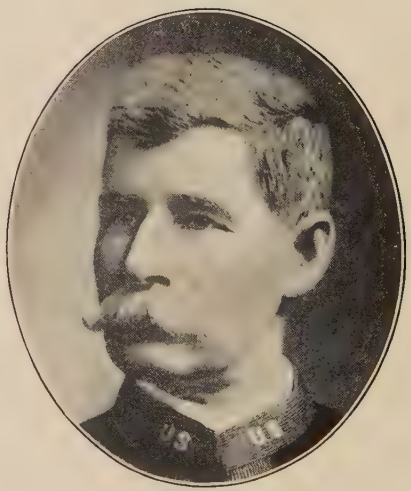
In 1901 a general provincial government act was passed by the commission, which provided for a government partly elective and partly appointive in each pacified province. The officers under this model act were a provincial governor, a treasurer, a supervisor of roads and public works, a secretary, and a prosecuting attorney. All of these officers were appointed in the first instance by the commission, but after February, 1902, the governor should be elected by a mass meeting of all the municipal councillors from the several towns of the province. The other positions, except that of the prosecuting attorney were brought under the terms of the comprehensive civil service act which the commission had passed in the preceding year. The most important functions of the provincial governments were the collection of almost all provincial and municipal taxes; the construction of roads, bridges, and public buildings; and the supervision of the acts of the municipal officers. The provincial governor was required to visit each town in the province twice a year, he could hear complaints against the municipal officers, and was empowered to suspend any officer not properly performing his duties.

In putting this general act into effect, the commission visited each province, held a public meeting, and then read to the assembly of inhabitants the terms of the contemplated acts. Suggestions and amendments were received, and as far as possible the terms of the general act were varied to suit the needs of each locality. After discussion and amendment, the act as applied to the particular province was publicly read, the appointees were announced and at once sworn into office.

S. B. M. Young.
Major-general, U. S. A.



Adna R. Chaffee.
Major-general, U. S. A.



H. W. Lawton.
Major-general, U. S. A.

Not all the provinces were organized according to the terms of the general provincial act. Where the ignorance of the people, or the unsettled condition, or the presence of tribal organizations demanded a less democratic government and the vesting of the central officers with greater authority, the commission has modified the type of provincial government to meet such conditions. Thus in Nueva Vizcaya, and other provinces in a similar undeveloped condition, the provincial governor, instead of being chosen by the municipal councillors, is appointed by the civil governor with the advice of the commission. In these districts he has the power of veto over the principal ordinances of all the towns, and may even issue such ordinances in the form desired by him. Self-government in these provinces, either of the provincial or the municipal government, cannot be said to exist, except so long as the municipalities keep to the line of conduct which the provincial governor under his instructions and the laws deems desirable.

In the Moro province also a notable departure was made from the typical act. The Bates treaty of 1899 was respected by the United States officials, except with reference to slavery, for several years. But in 1902 attacks were made by the Moros upon the United States military forces. Realizing the inability of the Sultan of Sulu or the petty datos to maintain order in the southern islands, the commission, by an act of June 1, 1903, provided for the erection of a new government over the Moros. This government was composed of a provincial governor and a legislative council possessing broad legislative powers, and five district governors established in as many divisions of the entire Moro territory. Popular education was to be provided, and orders were given to collect and codify the existing laws of the Moros. There were no popular features in this government, all the officers being appointed by the civil governor of the Philippines or by the provincial governor. The district and municipal governments also were placed absolutely under the control of the provincial council and governor. Thus from

the wide measure of self-government permitted at the outset in Negros, to the arbitrary powers vested in the military commanders in the Sulu Archipelago, the commission has endeavored to grant as great a share of participation in the government as the intelligence and loyalty of the inhabitants would warrant. Where the popular features of the local governments have been narrow at first, the commission has striven continually to bring about conditions which would make the people more self-reliant, and to advance wherever possible toward a more democratic form of government.

The significance of these provincial governments as well as the real nature of the general insular administrative departments can be understood only in connection with the Philippine civil service act. The fifth act passed by the commission in September, 1900, was one which extended the best features of the civil service acts of the United States to the islands; and, indeed, in the provisions for impartiality in appointment and honesty of service the act goes much farther than any State or national law on the subject in the United States. Three ideals were held by the commission in the framing of the act: the banishment of favoritism by the establishment of competitive examinations; the payment of adequate salaries and the granting of liberal leaves of absence to American officeholders; and the awakening of an enthusiasm for the service by holding out a reasonable prospect of promotion. The act required almost all appointments, after the system was set in operation, to be made only after competitive examination, and the preference, from among those passing a satisfactory examination, was to be first of natives of the Philippine Islands, and secondly, of persons honorably discharged from the military or naval service of the United States. Promotion even to such positions as treasurer of the islands, auditor, collector of customs, and of course to all lower positions, was to be gained either by the passage of competitive examinations, or by appointment without examination from among the assistant clerks. Only when no competent persons were to be found

among the assistant force were the higher positions to be filled otherwise than by promotion.

In 1901, the Commission wrote concerning this act (Report, p. 23), that "without this law American government in these islands is, in our opinion, foredoomed to humiliating failure. Even if all its provisions are enforced, it is likely to be very difficult to secure and keep in the service honest, competent Americans who will enter into the spirit of the missionary task involved in the successful government of these islands." Considering this measure in connection with the provincial and municipal governments which have been established in the islands, it will be seen that the American legislators in the Philippines attempted, not only to protect the natives against the dishonesty and rapacity of adventurous Americans, but also to instil into the minds of the Filipinos a higher ideal of civil service, and from the first to establish local governments upon such a basis that the favoritism, peculation, and extortion of Spanish days would, even among the natives themselves, be avoided.

A recent visitor to the Philippines (H. P. Willis, *Our Philippine Problem,* pp. 53-67) has pointed out that the civil service system has not worked so admirably as its authors had hoped. He objects to the superficial character of the examinations; the discrimination in salaries between Filipinos and Americans, by which the latter receive higher pay than the former for the same work; the relegation of the Filipinos to the lower offices which are often of a semi-servile character; the dishonesty in public and private life of a number of American officials; and the growing intricacy and costliness of the civil service. In other words, many of the evils which the commission in its civil service act sought to avoid have, according to this account, already crept into the administration of the islands.

Next to the erection of civil government in the archipelago, probably the most serious question which faced the United States government was the presence in the islands of the friars, with their large land holdings. It has already

been noted that the hatred of the friars was one of the main causes of the Filipino revolt of 1896, and it was recognized from the beginning of American occupation that the friars must be removed and their lands secularized. The United States peace commissioners at Paris in 1898, the Schurman Philippine Commission, and the Taft Commission in its first report, all favored the acquisition of the lands of the friars as a necessity to peaceable American occupation of the islands. The friars, under the influence of the Catholic Church, and faced with the active and violent opposition of the Filipinos, were gradually withdrawn from the islands. From 1,013 friars in 1898 their numbers were reduced to 380 in 1902 and to 246 at the close of 1903. In the meantime the settlement of their land titles was rendered more difficult by the transfer of the lands in name at least to private persons, usually Englishmen. The Philippine Commission in 1901 appointed a Filipino surveyor to determine the extent of the monastic holdings, and after two years' labor he reported that the friars owned 420,000 acres of land, valued at about six million dollars in gold.

Governor Taft, in 1902, at the direction of the president, visited Rome and there received the pope's approval of the sale of the lands to the United States. An apostolic delegate, dispatched to the islands, was not at first well received by the representatives of the friars, but at last the latter offered to sell their holdings for ten and one-half million dollars. Later negotiations brought down the actual amount paid to the friars to the sum of $7,239,000. This sum was provided for by bonds sold by the Philippine government. Opposition to the friars was further quieted by the action of the pope in installing an American archbishop and American bishops in the islands and by his refusal to force objectionable friars or priests upon unwilling parishioners. On the other hand, an independent Filipino Church, called the Aglipayans, from Gregorio Aglipay, its founder, has been formed, and in many districts this new organization has contested with the Roman Catholic Church the ownership of parish churches and other

ecclesiastical property. The conflict has caused much ill-feeling, and has led the commission to grant to the supreme court original jurisdiction in such cases, and to direct that an immediate decision be given in each. In this way it is now hoped that these bitter ecclesiastical controversies will be closed by a definite judicial determination backed up by the influence of the American army and administrators.

The currency system of the islands at the time of the American occupation was based upon the Spanish silver peso, which, being irredeemable in gold, fluctuated in value with every variation in the world market-price of silver bullion. A large number of Mexican silver dollars also were in circulation. After repeated requests by the Philippine Commission, Congress passed an act to establish the gold standard in the islands and to displace the Spanish and Mexican coins by a new silver coinage exchangeable at a fixed valuation in gold. A gold peso of 12.9 grains was made the standard; but the real circulating coin was a silver peso, of the value of fifty cents, which was made redeemable in gold at the insular treasury. The transition to the new coinage was accomplished by demonetizing the Mexican and Spanish coins during the year 1904, and by forbidding the importation of Mexican dollars into the islands; and the change was further accelerated by the demand for Mexican dollars in China and Japan in the period immediately preceding and during the Russo-Japanese War. Exporters, money-brokers and the banks opposed the change, while importers, merchants dealing with the United States and the American civil officers favored it; the wage-earner, the person most benefited by the new system, had no way of expressing his opinion.

Customs duties for the islands, based largely upon the Spanish tariff, were early adopted by the military authorities, but on September 17, 1901, after public hearings in the United States and the Philippines, the commission passed a comprehensive tariff act, which in the main laid specific and not *ad valorem* duties. Revising the Spanish customs,

the new act burdened luxuries and freed as far as possible necessaries from taxation. Congress, on March 8, 1902, approved of this act, but granted to the commission no power to change the rates which it had made. This anomalous state of affairs still continues. Many defects became apparent in the act, but the commission was powerless to remedy them, and not until March 3, 1905, did Congress, upon the advice of the commission, establish a new tariff for the islands. The most important changes were a reduction of one-half in the duty on manufactured tobacco, a similar reduction in the duty on gasoline, the imposition of a merely nominal duty of five per cent *ad valorem* upon agricultural, electrical and other machinery, and the prohibition,—to go into effect three years after the date of the act,—of the importation of opium. Under this act the income from customs at first declined, but later in 1905 reached an amount equal to that before the law had been passed.

In a similar manner, despite the protests of successive civil governors, the Dingley tariff rates, less twenty-five per cent, are still collected at the United States ports upon all imports from the Philippines. "Manila" hemp, the largest article of export, was already upon the free list; but tobacco and sugar were heavily taxed at American ports. Drought and a plague of locusts in the years 1903 and 1904 seriously injured the insular crops, and at the same time a cattle plague carried off at least three-fourths of all the draught animals in the islands. These conditions led to a strong demand for greater privileges for Philippine products in the American market. Secretary of War Taft, in his report for 1904, speaking of the islands, said, "The Philippine government is the result of an effort on the part of this nation to assist the Philippine people to stand upon their feet. It is a national experiment." He urged national legislation which would assist in the building of railroads, the improvement of harbors, and permit the admission of Philippine products to the United States free of any tariff duties.

Most earnest efforts have been made to raise the educational standards of the islands. Under the Spanish, the educational system was little more than a farce; the study of Spanish was often discouraged and probably not five per cent of the insular population were acquainted with that language; and, on the other hand, no native language had currency throughout the islands. Under these circumstances it was decided by the commission that the study of the English language in the schools could with justice be required. It was also decided to make that language the official tongue of the executive departments, and by January 1, 1906, to require its use also in the courts of the islands. To bring the school system up to American standards and to promote the immediate study of English, the commission resorted to a remarkable measure,—that of transporting to the islands a thousand American school-teachers, and settling them throughout the archipelago. Results have not fully justified the heavy expense which this plan entailed upon the insular treasury, but by December, 1904, Governor Wright could report that "it is a very conservative estimate to say that there is now more English spoken to-day in the Archipelago than Spanish;" and of the applicants for civil service examinations at that date, there was a greater number of Filipinos taking the tests in the English language than in the Spanish.

The school system in December, 1905, included a general superintendent, thirty-seven division superintendents, about eight hundred American teachers, and over three thousand native teachers. There are seventeen secondary schools, six technical, 114 intermediate, and 2,540 primary schools. In the organized municipalities, numbering over six hundred, not one is without school facilities. In the fiscal year 1905, the sum of $2,441,952 was appropriated for educational purposes by the insular, provincial and municipal governments. In the same year out of a school population of about a million and a half there was an enrollment in the schools of thirty-five per cent and so great was the pressure upon the

school facilities, that the order was given to limit the enrollment to one-third of the school population. With such a disparity between the number of children of school age and those attending school, the best that can be hoped for is to give a short course in the rudiments to the greatest number of persons. Manual training of some kind is always associated with the primary work, usually in the form of tool and gardening-work for the boys, and sewing and housekeeping for the girls.

From the beginning of American occupation it has been recognized that improved means of communication would be one of the ways of civilizing the islands, and accordingly, both under the military authorities and the Philippine Commission a large proportion of the insular revenues has been expended to this end. Up to December, 1905, between six and seven million dollars had been spent upon roads, bridges, and harbor improvements. Congress by the Sundry Civil Act of March 3, 1903, appropriated three million dollars for the relief of the distress in the islands, and directed that the money be spent in the purchase of necessaries of life, farm implements and animals, and in employing labor upon public roads. Additional encouragement to internal improvements was given by the congressional act of February 6, 1905, which authorized the Philippine Commission to raise money for permanent improvements by issuing bonds. Such bonds were to be freed from national, state or municipal taxation either in the Philippines or in the United States; they must not be sold below par; must bear no more than four and one-half per cent interest; must be redeemable not later than forty years after the date of the act; and must not exceed at any one time the sum of five million dollars.

This act also contained a provision which the commission had several times attempted to obtain from Congress; that is, the permission to encourage the building of railroads by guaranteeing the bonds of private railroad corporations. To protect the insular government, various restrictions were placed upon the capitalization and organization of the favored

corporations; and the companies must conform to the engineering and construction regulations established by the Philippine Commission. The payments made by the insular government to the corporations were to be a first lien upon the corporate property, but the obligations assumed should never exceed an annual expenditure of $1,200,000. Offers to capitalists were made by the secretary of war on June 12, 1905, for the building of 833 miles of railroad in Luzón, and about 400 miles in the islands of Panay, Negros, Cebú, Leyte, and Samar. Bids for the construction of these roads were opened on December 15, 1905, and January 20, 1906; and on February 12th an award for the building of the roads outside Luzón was made to a group of American capitalists.

As expressed by the chief of the bureau of insular affairs in December, 1905, the three greatest needs of the islands to-day are an American market for their agricultural products, an opportunity for farmers to borrow money at reasonable rates of interest, and the extension of means of transportation. The Philippine Commission in its last report (November 1, 1905), recommended a reduction of the duties on sugar and tobacco exported from the Philippines to the United States to not more than twenty-five per cent of the Dingley tariff rates; the repeal of the act of Congress approved April 15, 1904, which limited the trade between the islands and the United States after July 1, 1906, to American vessels; the extension of the amount of land to be owned or acquired by any individual or corporation in the islands to the amount of twenty-five thousand acres; the repeal of limitations upon the filing of mineral and coal land claims; the grant of authority to the commission to reduce the tariff rates upon articles imported into the islands; and the establishment of a land bank with private capital for the loaning of money upon agricultural lands and crops, the capital of which should be guaranteed by the Philippine government in the same manner that it had been permitted to guarantee the capital of railroad corporations.

It will thus be seen that, despite the large amount of legislation already enacted by Congress for the Philippines, much of which has been inspired by motives of wisdom and philanthropy, more remains to be done; and in all probability each year will see a similar demand for new legislation. Congress, while readily granting administrative reforms, has steadily refused to grant the material reduction in tariff duties which has been the greatest need of the islands. The influence of the American sugar and tobacco industries, combined with that of the interests opposed to any change of the tariff, has been strong enough to prevent any action by Congress. When in 1907, under the provisions of the census act, a Philippine assembly is to be called, it will be faced with the same limitations upon its powers which have been felt to be so irksome by the commission. Administrative officers, however, will more easily bear congressional inaction or opposition than will the representatives of the Philippine people; and a continual refusal of Congress to act upon measures affecting vital interests in the islands will have a more dangerous influence than under present conditions.

In the meantime the relations between the Filipinos and Americans have become more friendly. The leaders among the Filipinos, accepting American occupation as a finality, have been assisting the American administrators in their "missionary" labors for the islands. The greatest need, next to the immediate economic necessities, and the preservation of order, is for a rapid expansion of the educational system. The hope for improvement in the condition of the small peasant proprietors, who with their families make up almost one-half of the population, lies in the raising of their standards of living, the increase of their self-respect, and the fitting them more equally to bargain and contract with their richer neighbors. For many years these poor proprietors, owing to ignorance of the values of their crops, and the course of monetary exchange, have been exploited by the few educated Filipinos and foreigners who settled in their

towns. A knowledge, if only of a rudimentary nature, of the methods of keeping accounts and determining values will put these people in a better position to secure the profits which should go to them and not to the middlemen. Thus the economic and intellectual interests of the islands will in the future go far toward moulding political ideals.

With the higher education given to Filipino youth and with their increasing contact with Americans and American luxuries, new wants and interests will arise. These wants and interests will find expression in those organs of partial or complete self-government which it is the avowed intention of the United States government to establish in the archipelago. The great problem of the future will be so to direct the growing desires of the Filipinos that they will harmonize with rather than oppose the established interests and ideals of the American nation. If the Filipinos' interests do not clash with those of the United States, a continuance of benevolent paternalism with an increasing range of self-government will be the probable policy; but if such a clash arises, as it may in many different economic directions, the American nation will be called upon to show greater self-sacrifice than any republic in history ever yet developed. The hope for the Filipino lies first, in his producing those articles which are complementary to American products and not competitive with them; secondly, in his willingness and ability to advance intellectually under the forms of the educational system given him by the Americans; and, finally in the persistence of the American concept of national duty to the Philippines, which will preserve honesty in administration and ultimately grant a large measure of self-government to the islands.

CHAPTER X

SAMOA, GUAM, AND THE LESSER ISLANDS

THE territories thus far described include the more important insular possessions of the United States; but in conclusion brief mention must be made of the smaller islands of Guam, the Samoan possessions, and the scattered islets in the Pacific which have been occupied by Americans. In its relation to these islands the United States has departed from those traditional theories of territorial government which have been applied on the continent and which have, in a measure at least, been extended to the insular possessions already discussed. In the smaller islands, on the other hand, absolute control of the insular affairs has been vested in the resident American administrators, with no participation by the inhabitants in their government except as a privilege granted by the resident commander. Congress, also, which has legislated freely for Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, has taken no active part in the organization of government in Samoa or Guam. The whole burden of devising satisfactory governments in those islands has been left to the president and his subordinate administrative officers.

The Samoan or Navigators' Islands are, with exception of the Hawaiian Islands, the largest and most populous archipelago in the Pacific. The thirteen islands in the group have an area of about thirteen hundred square miles, but only three are of commercial importance: Savaii, the largest,

has an area of seven hundred square miles; Upolu, on which the harbor of Apia is situated, has five hundred and fifty square miles; and Tutuila, possessing the harbor of Pago Pago, the most sheltered port in the south Pacific, is only fifty-five miles in extent. At the present time the islands have a population of about 30,000, of which only three hundred are resident Europeans and Americans. Tutuila, with its neighboring American islands, has a population of nearly six thousand persons.

Samoan natives belong to that Polynesian Race which has already been described in the chapter on Hawaii. In language, religion, and traditions the Samoans resemble the Hawaiians. Brown complexion and long hair distinguish this race from the black races and Papuans of the South Pacific. Robert Louis Stevenson describes the Samoans as "easy, merry, and pleasure loving; the gayest, though by far from either the most capable or the most beautiful of Polynesians. Fine dress is a passion, and makes a Samoan festival a thing of beauty. Song is almost ceaseless. The boatman sings at the oar, the family at evening worship, the girls at night in the guest house, sometimes the workman at his toil."

Considerable skill is shown by the Samoans in the manufacture of their utensils, weapons, grass mats, and canoes. Their spears, about eight feet long and made from the wood of the cocoanut tree, were pointed with the barbed sting of the ray-fish, which, breaking off in the victim, usually caused his death. While expert in the making of fish-nets and fish-hooks, yet the manufacture in which the natives excel is the weaving of mats and baskets. The "fine mats" made from a species of pandanus are the most remarkable products of the islands, and so highly prized are they by the natives that even to-day they constitute a kind of currency for the islands. The leaves of the plant after being scraped to the thinness of paper are cut into strips about one-sixteenth of an inch in width, which are woven into mats two or three yards square. The tedious process of weaving the

mats, of fringing them and inserting small, scarlet feathers among the cream-colored strands, is performed by women, and in the case of the finer mats requires a year and sometimes two years of labor. In canoe-building and canoe-sailing the natives showed such skill that the French explorer, Bougainville, who visited the islands in 1768, was much impressed, and named the group the "Isles of the Navigators." Their canoes were constructed of small patches of wood sewed together with native fibre, and invariably possessed an outrigger which prevented the narrow boat of eighteen to thirty inches in width from capsizing.

The Samoans have not advanced politically far beyond the patriarchal tribal organization. Family and clan associations are at the basis of society. Each village has its council composed of heads of families, who select a village chief from certain noble families. The villages in turn are grouped into several districts also ruled by elective chiefs; but not until late in the nineteenth century was a chieftainship for the entire group established. The local groupings of villages appear to have been relatively permanent, but a wider association into a general monarchy was almost impossible. A prerequisite to the kingship was that the candidate to the throne should be chosen chief in each of five prominent noble families; and when a person received the votes of less than five, the non-concurring ones felt at liberty to deny the authority of the royal claimant. As the government was patriarchal, so the tenure of property was communal; neither political nor property rights inured to the individual as such, but only as he formed one of a consanguineous group.

A Dutch exploring expedition in 1722, under Roggewein, appears to have been the first to visit the Samoan Islands. The Frenchman Bougainville, in 1768, and his countryman, La Pérouse, in 1787, touched at the islands; and in 1791 a British vessel visited them. A massacre of some of the members of the French expedition of 1787 gave the islanders a bad reputation, and for years they were generally avoided

by mariners. European settlement upon the islands began in 1830, with the arrival from Tahiti of John Williams, a missionary of the London Missionary Society. His success, and the reports of the friendly nature of the inhabitants, led to more frequent visits by European and American vessels; and from some of these vessels sailors deserted to the natives, where they caused much trouble to the missionaries by practising the ceremonies of Christianity while ignoring its real teachings.

The missionaries met with considerable success; but here, as elsewhere in Polynesia, they had to combat the native vices of polygamy, licentiousness, indolence, and lack of thrift, while opposing also the new vice of drunkenness introduced by Europeans. The burden of their work, moreover, was increased rather than lessened by the absence of any strong central government, which, as in Hawaii, could throw all its influence in favor of Christianity. Although nominally converted, the natives retained many of their barbarous customs, and as the nineteenth century progressed they developed a great aptitude for politics and revolutions. Like many other vices in the islands this one was encouraged and exploited by the resident Europeans and Americans.

American intervention in the islands began in 1872, although there were American residents and an American consul at the islands long before that date. In that year Commander R. W. Meade, of the United States vessel *Narragansett,* promised one of the native chiefs that he should have the protection of the United States, and on behalf of his country Meade accepted the grant of the harbor of Pago Pago, which he believed would be valuable in the trade between California and Australia. A treaty to this effect, which was sent by President Grant to the Senate, failed to receive confirmation by that body.

The actions of Commander Meade in 1872, although not upheld by his government, were simply the first of many similar attempts by American officials and residents to secure an American protectorate over the islands. Colonel A. B.

General view ot, and Government House at Agaña, Guam,
Ladrone Islands.

Steinberger played the part of a king-maker, and in 1875 placed upon the throne a chief named Malietoa. Although Steinberger was soon exiled from the islands, this did not prevent later American consuls from raising the United States flag and proclaiming American protection in the years 1877, 1878, and again in 1885.

During these years there were two rival factions in the islands, each composed partly of natives and partly of foreigners. Malietoa, gaining the throne in 1872 through American influence, was supported by one party of natives, and in general by the American and English residents in the islands; a rival faction gained its inspiration from the resident German merchants. The commercial and political rivalry among the foreigners found free play in the contests among the natives. The American government was loath to depart from its traditional continental policy, and not until 1878 was a treaty confirmed accepting the harbor of Pago Pago as a coaling-station. At about the same time Germany and England also received the grant of harbors for similar purposes.

Conditions were gradually changing to a control of the islands by the three interested nations, but in 1880 the United States refused to enter a tripartite agreement to control the government. Again, in 1886, President Cleveland proposed a scheme for the autonomy of the Samoan government, supported by a council including a representative from each of the three powers. This time it was Germany which objected to the agreement. Finally, in June, 1889, a convention was concluded at Berlin which gave legal form to the indefinite control previously exercised in the islands by the three powers.

By this treaty the government of the islands was to consist of a king, chosen by the local chiefs; a supreme court with a chief justice chosen by the three powers; a local municipal government in Apia based on an electorate of one hundred and seventy persons; a land commission appointed by the powers, to determine land titles, in which matter the

Germans had been very aggressive; and a taxation plan, including customs duties and poll taxes. The chief justice, who was the most powerful person on the islands according to this treaty, had jurisdiction over questions arising under the treaty, or relating to the election of the king; and he had the power of recommending the passage of laws by the Samoan chiefs.

The treaty, while determining the sphere of action of the three intervening powers, did not prevent civil war upon the islands. Both before and after the death of Malietoa there were armed contests, during which two Americans, H. C. Ide and W. L. Chambers, occupied the position of chief justice. During this time President Cleveland strongly urged the withdrawal of the United States from the tripartite agreement and the abandonment of the islands, because of the expense entailed upon the United States and because the policy involved was one at variance with the past experience of the country.

At last, when the death of King Malietoa in 1898 caused a renewal of civil war, the three nations determined upon a division of the islands, which was expressed in a treaty signed by representatives of England, Germany, and the United States at Washington, on December 2d, 1899. England and Germany renounced in favor of the United States any claim they might have to the island of Tutuila and any other islands in the group east of the line of 171° west longitude. Retaining the fiction of popular sovereignty, this treaty was submitted to the chiefs of the respective islands, and on April 17, 1900, their approval of the cession to the United States was secured.

In the meantime, however, the president, on February 19, 1900, had erected the American islands in the group into a naval station, and directed the secretary of the navy to take the measures necessary to establish government upon them. Accordingly Commander B. F. Tilley was sent to Tutuila, where, without any instructions from the navy department, he was left to establish such relations between

himself and the natives as he saw fit. Congress also has made no provision for the government of Tutuila, but has been content to leave the control of the settlement to the resident naval commander acting under occasional instructions from his departmental superiors.

The system of government thus erected by Commander Tilley and his successors, has been based upon the family and tribal organizations already existing among the Samoans. Concerning his governmental policy Commander Tilley said: "I considered that the best way to govern these people was to let them, as far as possible, govern themselves, by continuing their good and time-honored customs and gradually abolishing the bad ones. The Samoans are still in the patriarchal state; the head of the household is supreme ruler of his own little family, and these chiefs in turn form a council which governs each village. Each town is practically independent of the others, though there is a parliament or 'fono' for every district. . . . I followed the plan which has proved so successful in Fiji of appointing native chiefs as local magistrates or governors in each district."

Supreme governmental powers within the island are vested in the naval commander, who is the law-maker, and possesses control over all appointments. He is assisted by a secretary, who not only represents the commander whenever necessary, but also sits with the native judges in the district courts. The islands are divided into three districts, in each of which a governor is appointed by the commander. The district governor's duties are largely supervisory, including the visitation of every village at least once in three months, the inspection of roads, and investigation of the conduct of local chiefs. The districts in turn are divided into counties, the principal officers of which are the hereditary chieftains, who are held responsible for the good order of their respective counties. Finally, each village has its local chief, chosen by the hereditary chiefs from among themselves, and approved by the district governor and the commander. The council of village chiefs has power to pass by-laws regulating

the care of roads, the cultivation of lands, and the organization of local charities.

Primitive methods of trial and punishment, including a form of political confessional box, have been discontinued, and their place has been taken by village and district courts, and a high court for all the islands. Foreign and native judges sit together in these courts, and any judge may call several assessors to the assistance of the court in the determination of facts. The high court is composed of the commander, two associate judges, and a judge advocate. The commander has deemed it necessary to abolish the practice of *melanga,* by which a company of persons might travel about the islands for weeks, visiting the several towns, and compelling the inhabitants, under the customary law, to furnish subsistence for their merry excursion party. In a similar way the strange practice of requiring gifts of fine mats at weddings and other ceremonies has been abolished by vote of the general council of the chiefs. These two customs, which required each person to hold his property at the call of his family and friends, have, according to Robert Louis Stevenson, depressed and staggered the industries of the islands. Their abolition frees the industrious man from the tyranny of his less provident relatives.

Native schools have been established, a moderate system of taxation erected, and orders issued preventing the alienation of land by the natives. Of the results of his labor Commander Tilley says: "The natives have taken the greatest interest in their new duties and have learned them quickly. As a result of the new system the villages are in much better order, there are much larger planted areas, and the roads are everywhere kept clean and in good condition. The people themselves are quiet and contented. At the first it was necessary to punish a few disorderly ones and this has had a most wholesome effect."

The island of Guam is situated in the group of islands called Marianne, or the Ladrones, so-called by Magellan because of the thieving propensities of the inhabitants. Guam

Map showing the United States and the relative positions of ou
Mercator's Projection, Depar

treated by the United States than by Spain. Under the latter eighty per cent. of the insular expenses were borne by the Spanish Government, while the American administration has placed the entire burden upon the native population. It is urged also that greater taxes are now collected than formerly; that imported food products are taxed, and that the freight rates in the Japanese schooners touching occasionally at the island are much higher than were those of the former subsidized Spanish steamers. Complaint is also made that there is only one imperfectly equipped school building upon the island for a school population of twenty-five hundred children; that there is no legislative body; that the naval governor has sole power to make laws, and that the right of appeal from the commander's decisions to some higher American court does not exist. These needs were reported by the secretary of war to Congress in December, 1904, with the advice that the needed legislation be granted; but up to the present time no action has been taken by that body.

Of the minor islands now recognized as part of United States territory little need be said; all, with the exception of the Midway Islands, are to-day uninhabited. Howland Island was taken by Americans as a source of guano, and Baker Island was occupied in 1857. Wake Island, only one square mile in area, was taken by the second Philippine expedition in 1898, and was thought to be of value as lying on a possible cable route to the Philippines. The Midway Islands, the northernmost of the Hawaiian group, situated about eighteen hundred miles from Honolulu, have been made a station for the cable between the United States and Guam and the Philippines. The two small islands and two islets are all enclosed within a coral atoll eighteen miles in circumference. The sole inhabitants are the employees of the cable company.

In looking back over the field of American insular administration during the past eight years certain general

is the largest island in the group, and was chosen by the United States according to the terms of the peace protocol of August 12, 1898, with Spain, which provided that Spain should cede to the United States one island in the group to be selected by the United States. After the cession of Guam, the remaining islands of the group were sold by Spain to Germany. Guam has an area of about one hundred and fifty square miles, one-half of which is cultivable, but only one per cent. was under cultivation in 1900. Like the other members of the group the island is of volcanic origin, and is surrounded by coral reefs. In 1901 the inhabitants numbered 9,676.

Magellan, after his voyage of terrible hardships across the Pacific, sighted the Ladrone Islands on March 6, 1521, and there procured water and supplies for his famished and starving men. After the settlement of the Philippines, Spanish galleons sailing between Mexico and the Philippines regularly stopped at Guam for water and supplies; but not until 1668 was the island occupied by the Spaniards. In that year the Jesuit priest, Diego Luis de Sanvitores, settled on Guam and began the conversion of the inhabitants; and at about the same time the name of the islands was changed, in honor of the Spanish queen, Maria Anna of Austria, to "Las Islas Marianas." Father Sanvitores pursued his work with vigor, but also probably with imagination, for his accounts of thirteen thousand baptisms and twenty thousand conversions in one year must be exaggerated.

For one hundred years the Jesuits remained in control of the island, during which time they introduced various plants from Mexico, and improved the condition of the natives by giving them beasts of burden and by instructing them in the simpler arts. When in 1769 the Jesuits were expelled from all the Spanish territories, their mission in Guam was given over to the Recoleto branch of the Augustinians. During the nineteenth century the life of the people was of the simplest character. The inhabitants generally dwelt in villages, from which they went out to work

the small farms owned by almost every family. Their principal products are maize, coffee, rice, taro, tobacco, and several varieties of yams and sweet-potatoes.

After the outbreak of the war with Spain, orders were sent on May 10, 1898, to Captain Henry Glass, commanding the United States cruiser *Charleston,* to proceed to Guam, and there to occupy the port, capture the Spanish officers and armed force, and destroy the fortifications of the place. To these operations the captain was directed to give only one or two days and thereafter he should proceed to the Philippines. On June 20th the *Charleston,* convoying three transports, reached Guam; and Captain Glass surprised the Spanish officers, who offered no opposition to his force, by informing them of the existence of war between the United States and Spain. On the following day the island was surrendered and the American flag was hoisted on Fort Santa Cruz. No fortifications of any importance existed on the island, and only four cast iron guns, condemned even for purposes of saluting, were found by the American landing force.

Since the Spanish-American War the island, by the president's order of December 23, 1898, has been under the control of the navy department, which has assigned an officer, usually of the rank of lieutenant, to the command of the island. The naval governor has exercised complete control over the civil affairs of the inhabitants, and from time to time has issued executive orders for their regulation. The most interesting of these orders contained provisions for the abolition of slavery and polygamy among the natives. General Wheeler, in June, 1900, reported that the greatest need of the island was a simple code of laws for the determination of civil and criminal cases. In February of that year, funds being needed to meet the insular expenses, the president ordered the collection of customs duties; but the income from this source has been meagre.

Naval officers report that the inhabitants have been quiet and orderly, but that the island has been less favorably

treated by the United States than by Spain. Under the latter eighty per cent. of the insular expenses were borne by the Spanish Government, while the American administration has placed the entire burden upon the native population. It is urged also that greater taxes are now collected than formerly; that imported food products are taxed, and that the freight rates in the Japanese schooners touching occasionally at the island are much higher than were those of the former subsidized Spanish steamers. Complaint is also made that there is only one imperfectly equipped school building upon the island for a school population of twenty-five hundred children; that there is no legislative body; that the naval governor has sole power to make laws, and that the right of appeal from the commander's decisions to some higher American court does not exist. These needs were reported by the secretary of war to Congress in December, 1904, with the advice that the needed legislation be granted; but up to the present time no action has been taken by that body.

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In looking back over the field of American insular administration during the past eight years certain general

features become apparent. On the side of political theory we see an attempt to extend the traditional territorial policy to the new possessions. This traditional policy has been well expressed by a recent writer as follows: "First, the administration of each dependent territory primarily with a view to its own benefit or advancement, and in no way as constituting a field of exploitation in the interest of the mother country; secondly, the conferring upon each territory the largest measure of self-government that the condition and character of its inhabitants renders feasible; and, finally, the ultimate incorporation of the territory into the United States as a State or States of the Union, coördinate in all respects with those already included, as soon as the conditions prevailing in it sufficiently approximate those in the United States" (Willoughby, *Territories and Dependencies of the United States,* p. 11).

In the government of the recently acquired territory there has been little question of the application of the first two principles; few persons have openly advocated the exploitation of the islands for the benefit of the United States, and few would deny the duty of the United States to grant its subject peoples as wide a measure of self-government as their intellectual and economic condition warrants. But the American nation has refused to apply its policy of admission to statehood to the insular possessions. No definite hope has been held out to them, as was done in the case of the continental territories, that they should at some time become members of the American Union. The subject, indeed, has been mooted in Hawaii and has been incorporated as a part of the platform of a political party in Porto Rico, but no appreciable sentiment in Congress or without has developed favoring such action.

The practice of the American administration in dealing with the dependencies has conformed closely to the first two lines of theory. In general it may be said that no exploitation of the islands for the benefit of Americans has taken place. Congress and the president, indeed, have often

imposed such rigid restrictions upon the occupation of public land and the granting of franchises as to hamper seriously the economic advancement of the natives. Such regulations are seen in the short leases required upon public land in Hawaii, in the limitations upon corporate holdings of land in Porto Rico and the Philippines, in the long delay before any franchises could be granted in the new possessions, and in the many restrictions upon railroad building in the Philippines. It has been claimed with some truth that the tariff regulations, particularly those applying to Philippine products, have been so arranged that they would benefit American producers; and in the awarding of Philippine offices discrimination seems to have been shown in favor of Americans; but such cases as these can scarcely be expanded into a charge of exploitation. American capital, probably owing to the prosperous conditions and high profits prevailing at home, has as yet been sent in only small proportions into any of the insular possessions. With lower profits in America the danger of colonial exploitation would become greater.

The second policy, that of extending the field of self-government in the dependencies, has, as the preceding pages show, been carried out consciously and with some success in the islands. The most notable case is that of Hawaii, where the control of government was practically in the hands of Americans, and where, consequently, the American form of territorial government could be established without a term of probation. In Porto Rico, on the other hand, the control exercised through the governor, the council, and the supreme court leaves little to the initiative of the Porto Rican native, and makes it possible, when desirable, to thwart his plans at almost every step. In the Philippines still less of real self-government exists, and from the municipalities up to the general insular government, the American administrators may dictate the policy of the government. In Samoa and in Guam, self-government, where existing, is based upon the tolerance of the American commanders and their superiors and not upon any statutory action by Congress. For Hawaii

there is little more to be desired in the attainment of self-government if we recognize the justice of disfranchising the Japanese and Chinese inhabitants. In the other islands there is much room for development before self-government, even as known in the continental territories, is attained. The training of Porto Ricans and Filipinos in self-control, the gradual extension to them of further political rights, and the final determination of their position with reference to the United States are problems which await solution.

With reference to the last question, there seems to be no concensus of thought in America to-day. That the Philippines will not be admitted as States seems certain; but the questions how long the period of tutelage will be retained, and what form of government will succeed it remain to be answered. The Filipinos have been loud in their clamor for independence, and even in Porto Rico a political faction has demanded the granting of a position similar to that of Cuba. The surest way to bind these countries to the United States is by granting free access to American markets. In the main their products are complementary to those of the United States. The rapid growth of a demand in the temperate zone for products of the tropics, and the recent improvements in the means of transporting the bulkier tropical fruits and raw materials, will undoubtedly make possible an exploitation of the natural resources of the tropics. If in this exploitation the native can be made to share, if his physical and intellectual well-being can be advanced, a sound rational basis for the American ownership of the islands will be found. Liberty in this case as in so many other instances in history, will be found not in the separatist individual form, but in that union of interests which brings broader opportunity to the individual and society. It is not too much to hope that Webster's "liberty and union" should receive a wider interpretation, and his description of the blessings of the American union should appeal to the Filipino and the Hawaiian, to the Porto Rican and the South Sea Islander.

APPENDIX

AGREEMENT

Between Brig. Gen. John C. Bates, representing the United States, of the one part, and His Highness the Sultan of Jolo, the Dato Rajah Muda, the Dato Attik, the Dato Calbi, and the Dato Joakanain, of the other part; it being understood that this agreement will be in full force only when approved by the governor-general of the Philippine Islands and confirmed by the President of the United States, and will be subject to future modifications by the mutual consent of the parties in interest.

ARTICLE I. The sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago of Jolo and its dependencies is declared and acknowledged.

ART. II. The United States flag will be used in the archipelago of Jolo and its dependencies, on land and sea.

ART. III. The rights and dignities of His Highness the Sultan and his datos shall be fully respected; the Moros shall not be interfered with on account of their religion; all their religious customs shall be respected, and no one shall be persecuted on account of his religion.

ART. IV. While the United States may occupy and control such points in the archipelago of Jolo as public interests seem to demand, encroachment will not be made upon the lands immediately about the residence of His Highness the Sultan, unless military necessity requires such occupation in case of war with a foreign power; and where the

property of individuals is taken, due compensation will be made in each case.

Any person can purchase land in the archipelago of Jolo and hold the same by obtaining the consent of the Sultan and coming to a satisfactory agreement with the owner of the land; and such purchase shall immediately be registered in the proper office of the United States Government.

ART. V. All trade in domestic products of the archipelago of Jolo, when carried on by the Sultan and his people with any part of the Philippine Islands, and when conducted under the American flag, shall be free, unlimited, and undutiable.

ART. VI. The Sultan of Jolo shall be allowed to communicate direct with the governor-general of the Philippine Islands in making complaint against the commanding officer of Jolo or against any naval commander.

ART. VII. The introduction of firearms and war material is forbidden except under specific authority of the governor-general of the Philippine Islands.

ART. VIII. Piracy must be suppressed, and the Sultan and his datos agree to heartily coöperate with the United States authorities to that end, and to make every possible effort to arrest and bring to justice all persons engaged in piracy.

ART. IX. Where crimes and offenses are committed by Moros against Moros, the government of the Sultan will bring to trial and punishment the criminals and offenders, who will be delivered to the government of the Sultan by the United States authorities if in their possession. In all other cases persons charged with crimes or offenses will be delivered to the United States authorities for trial and punishment.

ART. X. Any slave in the archipelago of Jolo shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master the usual market value.

ART. XI. In cases of any trouble with subjects of the Sultan the American authorities in the islands will be instructed to make careful investigation before resorting to

harsh measures, as in most cases serious trouble can thus be avoided.

ART. XII. At present, Americans or foreigners wishing to go into the country should state their wishes to the Moro authorities and ask for an escort, but it is hoped that this will become unnecessary as we know each other better.

ART. XIII. The United States will give full protection to the Sultan and his subjects in case any foreign nation should attempt to impose upon them.

ART. XIV. The United States will not sell the island of Jolo or any other island of the Jolo archipelago to any foreign nation without the consent of the Sultan of Jolo.

ART. XV. The United States Government will pay the following monthly salaries:

	Mexican dollars.
To the Sultan	250
To Dato Rajah Muda	75
To Dato Attik	60
To Dato Calbi	75
To Dato Joakanain	75
To Dato Puyo	60
To Dato Amir Hussin	60
To Hadji Butu	50
To Habib Mura	40
To Serif Saguir	15

Signed in triplicate, in English and Sulu, at Jolo, this 20th day of August, A. D. 1899 (13 Arabuil, Abril 1517).

JOHN C. BATES,
Brigadier-General, United States Volunteers.
SULTAN OF JOLO.
DATO RAJAH MUDA.
DATO ATTIK.
DATO CALBI AND DATO JOAKANAIN.

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